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**Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790–1791, ed. by  
Albert Matthews.**

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH 1790–1791

EDITED BY ALBERT MATTHEWS

CAMBRIDGE THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1917

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*William Loughton Smith From the Miniature by Trumbull in Yale University*

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**JOURNAL OF WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH 1790–1791**

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### JOURNAL OF WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH 1790–1791

The author of this Journal, now made accessible for the first time,<sup>1</sup> was William Smith of Charleston, South Carolina. His father, Benjamin Smith (1718–1770), was a noted man in his day, having filled many offices in his native province. William was his third son, and fifth child by his first wife, Anne Loughton, who died February 29, 1760.<sup>2</sup> Late in life—apparently in or about 1804<sup>3</sup>—Mr. Smith added his mother's

<sup>1</sup> See p. 35, note 3, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> For a sketch of the Smith family, see “William Smith and some of his Descendants,” by A. S. Salley, Jr., in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for July, 1903, IV. 239–257, 313.

<sup>3</sup> A letter dated August 18, 1800, is signed “W. S.,” *Life of John Pickering*, 177. In a letter dated December 8, 1803, Timothy Pickering refers to “William Smith, Esq.” (see p. 27, *infra*). In a letter dated October 18, 1804, Mr. Smith for the first time, so far as I have noted, signed himself “Wm. Loughton Smith.” *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, IV. 427.

*William Smith LLD. Charleston S. Carolina.*

<sup>21</sup> surname, and thereafter called himself William Loughton Smith.<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1770, at the age of twelve, young Smith was sent by his father, who had himself been educated in England, to Europe for his education, and did not return to this country until November, 1783.<sup>2</sup> Almost immediately he plunged into public life, and in November, 1788, was elected to Congress from Charleston district, South Carolina. On the ground of eligibility, his election was contested by Dr. David Ramsay,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Salley says that Mr. Smith had two book-plates, some bearing “the name ‘William Smith. L.L.D. Charleston S. Carolina’ and some [having] ‘ Wm Loughton Smith. L.L.D.

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Charleston S. Carolina.” The former is here reproduced from a copy on the inside of the cover of *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, Anno M.DCC,LXXXIX*, New-York, owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. A number of Mr. Smith's letters are in the Pickering Papers, in this Society.

Three portraits of Mr. Smith are in existence. Mr. Salley says that “Gilbert Stuart painted a portrait of him, and Sartain is said to have made an engraving from it.” Sartain's engraving is from Stuart's portrait of the Rev. Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, painted in 1800, and engraved in 1880 for the second volume of H. W. Smith's *Life and Correspondence of William Smith*, D.D. Col. John Trumbull painted two portraits of our Mr. Smith: one, painted in 1792, is owned by Yale University; the other was in 1892 owned by Dr. G. E. Manigault of Charleston. The third portrait, though not listed in G. C. Mason's *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, was painted by Stuart in or before 1796 and is now owned by the Carolina Art Association of Charleston. All three portraits are reproduced in *History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States* (Bowen, 1892), 102.

Stuart's portrait was engraved by Edward Savage, the legend reading: “G. Stuart Pinxt.—E: Savage Sculpt. William Smith of South Carolina, L.L.D. Member of the Congress of the United States. Pub: March 11 th.. 1796 by E Savage Philada.” Mr. C. H. Hart, from whose article (2 *Proceedings*, XIX. 16) I quote, says that “A state of this plate is without ‘L.L.D.,’ and address.” Obviously the “L.L.D.” could not have been added until after September 28, 1796.

It is perhaps worth adding that in 1792 the city of Charleston instructed Mr. Smith to employ Trumbull to paint a portrait of Washington: see Trumbull's *Autobiography*, 166–167.

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2 In 1774 he went from London to Geneva, and is several times mentioned by Henry Laurens in letters to his son John, who was also at Geneva. *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, III. 215; IV. 30, 32, 100, 216.

3 Dr. Ramsay published two pamphlets. One, evidently published in the spring of 1789, is entitled: *A Dissertation on the Manner of acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizen of the United States*. Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXIX. It contains no allusion to himself, to Mr. Smith, or to the election. The other, the prefatory note to which is dated "New-York, Sept. 17, 1789," is entitled: *Observations on the Decision of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 22d Day of May, 1789; Respecting the Eligibility of the Hon. William Smith, of South-Carolina, to a Seat in that House*. By David Ramsay, M.D. New-York: Printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell. M. DCC. LXXXIX. This contains many references to Mr. Smith. Allusions to this contested election will be found in Jefferson's *Writings* (Ford), IX. 53 *n.*, in Madison's *Writings* (Hunt), v. 366, and in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, iv. 45. In a letter (owned by this Society) to the Rev. John Eliot, dated December 27, 1790, Dr. Ramsay stated that he had sent Eliot copies of his two pamphlets, and said: "I still think Congress, or rather the house of representatives, violated the constitution in admitting Mr. Smith's claim to citizenship while he was in Europe."

22 and to this fact is due the following interesting autobiographical sketch, extracted from a speech made in the House of Representatives on May 22, 1789:

As the House are inclined to hear the observations I have to make I shall begin with admitting the facts stated in the memorial of Doctor Ramsay, hoping the House will excuse the egotism into which I am unavoidably drawn. I was born in Charleston, South Carolina, of a family whose ancestors were among the first settlers of that colony, and was sent to England for my education when I was but twelve years of age. In 1774, I was sent to Geneva, to pursue my studies, where I resided till 1778. In November, that year, I went to Paris, where I resided upwards of two months in the character of an American

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gentleman. Immediately on my arrival there, I waited on Doctor Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. A. Lee, the commissioners from Congress to the Court of France, as a citizen of America, and was received as such by them. In January, 1779, I left Paris for London, whither I went to procure the means of embarking for America, from the gentleman who had been appointed my guardian by my father when I was first sent to Europe in 1770, and from whom alone I had any hope of obtaining such means. But in this endeavor, I was disappointed, and remained some time in England, with the hope of receiving remittances from Charleston. Here again my expectation was defeated. The rapid depreciation of the Continental money rendered the negotiation of money transactions extremely difficult, and thus I remained till the fall of Charleston. I took this opportunity of studying the law,<sup>1</sup> but could not be called to the bar, because I had not taken the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, which is a necessary qualification. After the surrender of Charleston, the whole State of South Carolina, fell into the hands of the enemy, and it was impossible at that

<sup>1</sup> In the list of admissions to the Inner Temple occurs the name of "William Smith, South Carolina, 1774." C. Meriwether, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina* (1889), 26.

23 time to return. No sooner, however, did I acquire the means, and an opportunity offered, than I prepared myself to go back to America. I quitted London for that purpose in October or November, 1782, not in a vessel bound to Charleston, then a British garrison, and which I certainly should have done, had I considered myself a British subject, and which would have been most convenient, as there were vessels constantly going from London to Charleston; but I travelled to Ostend, and there embarked in a neutral vessel bound to St. Kitt's, from whence it was my intention to proceed to a Danish island, and thence to some American port in North Carolina or Georgia, from whence I could reach the American camp. In the beginning of January, 1783, I sailed from Ostend, but was detained a considerable time by contrary winds, and in the middle of the month of February, was shipwrecked on the coast of England, and was obliged to return to London in order to procure another passage. These circumstances unavoidably prevented my return to Charleston, until some time in November, 1783.

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On my arrival at Charleston, I was received by my countrymen as a citizen of the State of South Carolina, and elected by their free suffrage a member of the Legislature in November, 1784. In the August following, I was chosen, by the Governor and Council, a member of the Privy Council, and this election was confirmed by the Legislature in the October following. In September, the same year, I was elected one of the Wardens of the City of Charleston. In November, 1786, I was again elected into the Legislature; again in November, 1788; I was elected at the same time that I was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States, the September preceding having been chosen again a Warden of the city.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning Mr. Smith took an active part in the debates and soon became one of the leading Federalists. In

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith took his seat April 13, 1789. On April 15 Dr. Ramsay's petition was presented, on April 18 Mr. Clymer's report was read, the report was considered on April 18, 29, May 12, 21, and 22, when Mr. Smith was seated by a vote of 36 to 1. *Annals of Congress* under the above dates, pp. 121, 143, 168, 231, 329, 397–408. On May 12 Mr. Clymer reported, "That Mr. Smith appeared before them, and admitted that he had subscribed, and had caused to be printed in the State Gazette of South Carolina, of the twenty-fourth of November last, the publication which accompanies this report, and to which the petitioner doth refer as proof of the facts stated in his petition; that Mr. Smith also admitted that his father departed this life in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy, about five months after he sent him to Great Britain; that his mother departed this life about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty; and that he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court in South Carolina in the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four." Mr. Smith's father died at Newport, R. I., July 28, 1770.

<sup>24</sup> 1792 his first pamphlet, an attack on Jefferson, appeared, and during the next four years he published half a dozen other pamphlets, after which only one (in 1806) came from his pen.<sup>1</sup> Though he represented Charleston district continuously from 1789 to July,

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1797, there was at least one time when he thought of withdrawing. Writing to Madison July 3, 1792, Jefferson said:

1 See the bibliography, pp. 76–88, *infra*.

Smith of S. C. declines [offering himself at the next election] also. He has bought a fine house in Charleston for £5000 and had determined not even to come to the next session. But his friends it is said have made him promise to come. One gentleman from S. Carolina says he could not be re-elected. Another says there could be no doubt of his re-election. Commodore Gillon is talked of as his successor. Izard<sup>2</sup> gives it out that it is all false that Mr. Smith is so rich as has been represented, that he is in fact poor, cannot afford to live here, & therefore has retired to Charleston. Some add that he has entered again at the bar. The truth seems to be that they are alarmed, & he driven out of the field, by the story of the more modern Colchis. His furniture is gone off from hence [Philadelphia].<sup>3</sup>

2 Ralph Izard, Mr. Smith's father-in-law.

3 *Writings* (Ford), vi. 97–98.

On October 10, in a different strain, Hamilton wrote to C. C. Pinckney:

Some valuable characters are about to be lost to the House of Representatives. I feared once that this would be the case with Mr. Smith, of your State, but I believe his present intention is rather to continue to serve. I trust there can be no doubt of his success, and I wish means to be used to determine his acquiescence. He is truly an excellent member—a ready, clear speaker, of a sound analytic head, and the justest views. I know of no man whose loss would be more severely felt by the good cause.<sup>4</sup>

4 *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 287.

Two years later, Mr. Smith and Fisher Ames suffered the good old punishment of being burned in effigy. “It is reported,” wrote Ames on March 5, 1794, “that William Smith and

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your humble servant have been burned in effigy in Charleston, South Carolina. The fire, you know, is pleasant, when it is not too near; and I am willing to have it believed, that, as I come out 25 of the fire undiminished in weight, I am now all gold. I laugh, as you will suppose, at the rage of the burners.”<sup>1</sup> And in a letter to Jefferson on March 26, Madison said: “The people of Charleston are taking a high tone. Their memorial, which is signed by Ramsay, the Gadzdens, Young Rutledge and a very great number of respectable Citizens, marks the deliberate sense of her people. The more violent has been expressed by hanging and burning the effigies of Smith Ames Arnold, Dumouriez & the Devil, *en groupe*.”<sup>2</sup> On November 16 Madison again wrote: “In S. C., Smith has been carried by the British merchants in Charleston, and their debtors in the country, in spite of the Rutledges and Pinckney, who set up against him John Rutledge, Jr. Tucker was also a candidate. Smith had a majority of all the votes.”<sup>3</sup>

1 *Works* (S. Ames), I. 138.

2 *Writings* (Hunt), VI. 211.

3 *Letters and other Writings* (1865), II. 19.

When Washington was reorganizing his Cabinet in 1795, he wrote (October 29) to Hamilton: “Mr. Smith of South Carolina, some time ago, would have had no objection to filling a respectable office under the General Government, but what his views might lead to, or his abilities particularly fit him for, I am an incompetent judge; and besides, on the ground of popularity, his pretensions would, I fear, be small.”<sup>4</sup> On November 5, Hamilton replied as follows:

4 *Writings* (Ford), XIII. 131.

But for a Secretary of State, I know not what to say. *Smith*, though not of full size, is very respectable for talents, and has pretty various information. I think he has more *real talent* than the last incumbent of the office.<sup>5</sup> But there are strong objections to his appointment.

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I fear he is of an uncomfortable temperament. He is popular with no description of men, from a certain *hardness* of character; and he, more than most other men, is considered as tinctured with prejudices towards the British. In this particular his ground is somewhat peculiar. It may suit party views to say of other men, but more in this respect is *believed* with regard to Smith. I speak merely as to bias and *prejudice*. There are things, and important things, for which I would recommend Smith—thinking well of his abilities, information, industry, and integrity; but, at the present juncture, I believe his appointment to the office in question would be unadvisable. Besides, it is very important that he should not now be removed from the House of Representatives.<sup>6</sup>

5 Edmund Randolph.

6 *Works*, (Lodge), VIII. 368.

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On July 2, 1796, the Cabinet advised sending a new Minister to France, and among those suggested for the office was Mr. Smith; but with respect to him, Washington wrote to Pickering on July 8 that, “although it would be a very agreeable choice to me, I am sure it would not concenter those opinions, which policy would require.”<sup>1</sup>

1 *Writings*, XIII. 236.

A year later, however, on July 6, 1797, President Adams nominated “William Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina, to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Portugal, vice John Quincy Adams, removed to the Court of Berlin;” the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 10th.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Smith of course resigned his seat, and a week later issued the following address to his constituents:

2 *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* (1828), 1. 248, 249. The appointment was noted in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of July 26, 1797. In his *Anas*,

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Jefferson wrote: "July, 1797. Murray is rewarded for his services by an appointment to Amsterdam; W. Smith of Charleston, to Lisbon" ( *Writings*, 1. 273).

To the Electors of Charleston District.

Philadelphia, July 18, 1797.

Fellow Citizens:

After having for upwards of eight years, had the honor of serving you in Congress, I cannot announce to you the vacancy of my seat, by the acceptance of an executive office, without expressing at the same time, my warmest thanks for the repeated proofs I have experienced of your kindness and partiality. When my conduct was misrepresented or misunderstood, you more than once generously interposed your candor to shield me from political degradation, and by your indulgent forbearance, afforded me the opportunity of establishing the rectitude of my conduct.

For these marked testimonies of your attachment, and for the very distinguished honor of being five times elected your representative in the national councils, I feel the most lively emotion of gratitude and affection.

In whatever clime my duty may call me, in whatever station my service may be required, I shall not cease to preserve those sentiments unimpaired, nor to pray for your happiness and the prosperity of a district, to which I shall ever continue strongly attached by the powerful ties of birth and gratitude.

I am, my fellow citizens, very respectfully your obedient Servant,

William Smith. 3

3 *City Gazette* (Charleston), August 3, 1797. For this extract I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society.

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On the day when that address was issued<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith sailed from Philadelphia accompanied as his secretary by Timothy Pickering's son John, then a youth who had graduated from Harvard College only the year before.<sup>2</sup> On February 8, 1799, President Adams nominated "William Smith, our Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Portugal, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, with full powers to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the dominions and dependencies of the Sublime Porte;" the nomination was confirmed by the Senate on the 11th,<sup>3</sup> but the mission was never sent.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Smith remained in Portugal from 1797 to 1801, though from March 2 to June 18, 1798, he was absent on a visit to Spain.<sup>5</sup> On September 9, 1801, he was superseded as Minister to Portugal;<sup>6</sup> early in October of that year he reached England;<sup>7</sup> for another two years he appears to have remained in Europe; and our last glimpse of him is in a letter from Timothy Pickering to his son John dated Washington, December 8, 1803:

1 In a letter dated Philadelphia, July 8, 1797, John Pickering said: "In about two weeks I embark for Europe. I go with Mr. William Smith, of Charleston, S. C., who is to be Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon." *Life of John Pickering*, 94. The *Minerva* (New York) of Monday, July 24, 1797, said: "Philadelphia, July 22. Tuesday last sailed for Lisbon, the ship *Dominick Terry*, capt. Dehart, in which went passenger Wm. Smith, Esq. minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the court of Portugal." In the *Philadelphia Gazette* of July 18 is noted, "Cleared, Ship *Dominick Terry*, De Hart. Lisbon."

2 There is much about Mr. Smith in Mary O. Pickering's *Life of John Pickering* (1887), especially between pp. 94–219.

3 *Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate* 1828), I. 311, 312.

4 See *Life of John Pickering*, 138–139, 143, 145, 146, 156, 160.

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5 *Ibid.*, 110, 121.

6 *Register of the Department of State* (1871), 68. My reason for being so precise in regard to these appointments is because erroneous statements have been made about them. He was Minister to Portugal, not Chargé d'affaires, and he was never Minister to Spain.

7 *Life of John Pickering*, 205.

Yesterday your friend William Smith, Esq., was to set off for Philadelphia, where he will embark for Charleston. He has visited Holland, France (I believe some parts of Germany and Switzerland), and Italy. He was present at Tangier when our little squadron was drawn up before it, and peace restored with the Emperor, whom he saw. He returned to the United States in the frigate which brought the news and the act of the Emperor declaring the Treaty 28 made by the United States with his father in 1786. He desired me to present to you his very affectionate remembrance. He inquired with much interest of your situation and prospects at the Bar. He told me that he believed he should himself resume the practice of the law.<sup>1</sup>

1 *Life of John Pickering*, 219.

Mr. Smith did not again enter public life, and died at Charleston in December, 1812. He was twice married: first, on May 1, 1786, to Charlotte Izard, daughter of Ralph Izard (1742–1804) and Alice (DeLancey) Izard, who died January 8, 1792;<sup>2</sup> and second, on December 19, 1805, to Charlotte Wragg. By his first wife he had Thomas Loughton Smith (who graduated at Princeton in 1807) and Anne Caroline Smith (who married May 22, 1820, Peter Pederson, Danish Minister to the United States); and by his second wife he had William Wragg Smith, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth Smith, who married Major Thomas Osborn Lowndes.<sup>3</sup>

2 For an account of the Izard family, see the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II 205–240. In 1844 Mrs. Anne Izard Deas, who was a younger daughter of

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Ralph Izard, published the *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard*. In a prefatory note she said (p. x) that “The last volume is chiefly composed of letters from his son-in-law—Mr. William Smith;” but only one volume was ever published, and I do not know where Mr. Smith's letters are.

3 Mr. Smith was a correspondent of several of his more distinguished contemporaries, and is occasionally mentioned by them in their writings. Letters by him are printed in *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, II. 65–66, 164–167, IV. 427; Hamilton's *Works* (J. C. Hamilton), VI. 241–243; *Life of John Pickering*, 117–119, 155–156, 159, 176–177. Letters to him are printed in Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 382, 439, 442, 459, 461, 544. The more important references to him are given in the text or footnotes of this paper. Allusions to him will also be found in Hildreth's *History of the United States*, and in J. S. Bassett's *Federalist System*.

Mr. Smith's career presents two puzzling problems—one biographical, the other bibliographical. They are due partly to the fact that late in life he changed his name, and partly to the fact that there was another William Smith who, though born in North Carolina in 1762, early removed to South Carolina, and who, by a singular coincidence, was in November, 1796, elected to Congress from Pinckney district in the latter State. This William Smith wrote little, and apparently nothing until about 1830, did not become prominent in politics until after our Mr. Smith had retired from public life, and did not die until 1840. Nevertheless the two William Smiths have been hopelessly confused alike by biographers<sup>1</sup> and by bibliographers;<sup>2</sup> and by a singular fatality the honorary degree of LL.D. conferred on our Mr. Smith by the College of New Jersey in 1796 has for sixty years been attributed to the other William Smith in the catalogues of Princeton University.<sup>3</sup>

1 Two examples will suffice. The 1876 edition of C. Lanman's *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States* contains two notices of our Mr. Smith—one (p. 394) under William Smith, the other (p. 395) under William Loughton Smith. In the 1913 edition of the *Biographical Congressional Directory* it is stated (p. 45) that “William

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Smith, Pinckney district,” “Resigned July JuY 10, 1797, having been appointed Minister to Portugal”—whereas it was the other William Smith who resigned and received the appointment. It may well be doubted whether a notice of either William Smith has yet appeared which is wholly free from mistakes. In his sketch of Judge William Smith (1762–1840) O’Neill says that “In the Roll of Attorneys admitted at Charleston, Wm. Smith is put down as admitted 6th January, 1784” ( *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, I. 106–120), but this was our Mr. Smith, not Judge Smith.

2 For a bibliography of Mr. Smith’s writings, see pp. 76–88, *infra*.

3 In the latest *General Catalogue of Princeton University* (1908, p. 404), the entry reads as follows:

“1796 William Smith, LL.D. \*1840

“Member South Carolina Assembly 1823–1826; Member South Carolina Senate 1806–08; President South Carolina Senate 1808; Judge South Carolina Circuit Court 1808; U. S. Representative from South Carolina 1797–99; U. S. Senator from South Carolina 1815–23, 1826–31; Member Alabama Assembly 1835–39; A. B. Mt. Zion 1780.”

This is an admirable summary of the positions held by Judge William Smith (1762–1840), except only in the matter of the honorary degree. It will be worth while to trace the origin of this error. That our William Smith received the honorary degree of LL.D. is made certain by his book-plates (see p. 21, note I, *supra*), but Mr. Salley remarks that “We are not informed as to what institution conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him.” The title-page of his *Oration* on July 4, 1796, states that it was “By William Smith, a member of the Revolution Society, and Representative in the Congress of the United States.” The title-page of his *Comparative View*, the dedication to which is dated October 2, 1796, states that it was “By William Smith, of South-Carolina, L.L.D. and Member of the Congress of the United States” (see pp. 80, 81, *infra*). Hence the degree was conferred at some time between July 4 and October 2, 1796. To Professor V. Lansing Collins I am indebted for the

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following transcript of the record in the Manuscript Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the College of New Jersey for September 28, 1796:

“Resolved that the degree of Doctor of Laws be conferred on the Honble William Smith of South Carolina and the Honbl Fisher Ames of Massachusetts.”

This, it will be observed, is ambiguous, since it might apply to either of the two William Smiths. Not so, however, with the next extract, taken from the *Minerva* (New York) of October 1, 1796:

“ Princeton, September 28

“This day being the anniversary of the commencement in the college of New Jersey, the board of trustees and the faculty of the college met, the senior class at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in the public hall, from whence they went in procession to the church

“The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on the Hon. William Smith, member of congress for South Carolina, and on the Hon. Fisher Ames, member of congress from the state of Massachusetts.”

As our William Smith was the only one of the name who was then a Member of Congress from South Carolina, it follows that the degree was conferred upon him. The entry has stood as follows in the successive editions of the *Catalogus Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis*, etc., the entry being given only when it differs from the entry in the previous edition:

1800 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. e Cong. Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.

1804 Gulielmus Smith, Arm. Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.

1815 Gulielmus Smith, Leg. ap. Lis. LL.D.

1821 Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.

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1824 \*Gulielmus Smith, LL.D.

1857 \*Gulielmus Smith, LL.D., in Cong. Rerumpub. Fœd. Sen. \*1840.

1896 \*William Smith, LL.D., U. S. Sen. \*1840.

It will be observed that in all the catalogues from 1800 to 1818, both included, Mr. Smith is unmistakably identified as the William Smith who was Minister at Lisbon, and that news of his death did not reach the Princeton authorities until 1824. Dates of death were first given in the edition of 1854, edited by G. Musgrave Giger, but no date was attached to the name of Mr. Smith. "In Professor Giger's interleaved copy of the 1854 edition," Professor Collins writes me, "containing his autograph notes, he has entered opposite William Smith: 'Wm. Smith, U. S. Sen. So. Ca., 1816–23, 1826–31. \*Huntsville, Ala., July 26, 1840—?' Giger evidently satisfied his doubts, for the 1857 edition contains the full erroneous entry with date; and so it has remained, somewhat amplified however in the 1906 edition." Professor Collins assures me that the mistake will be rectified in the next edition.

The *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 24, 1797, contained this notice: "William Smith, the representative of Charleston district in Congress, is now in some of the minutes of that body styled *Dr. Smith*, in consequence we believe, of his having sometime since received the diploma of *doctor of laws*, and in order to distinguish him from William Smith of Pinckney district." The same paper of July 12 spoke of "Dr Smith's resolution," etc. Miss Webber has furnished me with these extracts. A satirical epigram of the period contains the line, "Hear learned Dr. Smith, how he splutters:" see McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, II. 330 *n*.

Pinckney district comprised the then counties of Union, Spartan, York, and Chester: see *Letters on the Questions of the Justice and Expediency of going into Alterations of the Representation in the Legislature of South-Carolina, as fixed by the Constitution. Published, originally, in Numbers, in the City Gazette.* By Phocion. Charleston: Printed by Markland & M'Iver, No. 47, Bay. MDCCXCV, p. 33. Miss Webber tells me that the

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copy of this pamphlet owned by Mr. Smith has written in his hand under "Phocion" the name "Henry William De Saussure." See also D. W. Ar. Schaper's "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1900, I. 374, 417, 461, where Pinckney district is shown on a map between pp. 378–379. Mr. Salley writes me as follows:

"I notice that you refer to ' *the* Pinckney district,' the home of the other William Smith, who was in Congress at the same time as our William Smith. At that time the judicial and executive unit of the State was the district and so remained until 1868, when the name was changed to county and the legislative unit made to conform. Pinckney District was one of the nine districts of the State. We did not have nine members of the house of Congress, so that in about two cases congressional districts were composed of two of the local units. When the State was redistricted in 1798 Pinckney District was dismembered. Union District, carved therefrom, was the home of William Smith."

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Finally, it is necessary to remove another misapprehension, though this relates not to Mr. Smith but to Washington. That 31 Washington accompanied Mr. Smith to Vermont and that the visit was of great political importance, has recently been asserted. In her *Hoosac Valley*, published in 1912, Miss Grace Greylock Niles says that "President Washington and Congressman William Smith on August 30, 1790, visited Gov. Moses Robinson and Isaac Tichenor at Bennington Centre, in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the Union. At that time Washington was aware of the influence of Ethan and Ira Allen's diplomacy in bringing about the cessation of hostilities of the British on the Vermont-Canadian borders. On January 6, 1791, following Washington's Bennington visit, the vote of Vermont's officers proved to be 105 yeas to 3 nays for a final application for the State's admittance to the Union." And again:

President George Washington and Congressman Smith, on August 30, 1790, mounted on horseback, rode from New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Bennington Centre to consult

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with Gov. Moses Robinson about Vermont's final admittance to the Federal Union Congressman Smith in a letter published a century later in the *New York Evening Post* described their romantic ride beneath the “Weeping Rocks,” overhanging the Hoosac River in the Pownal intervale of Vermont The President's party was welcomed at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's mansion at Bennington Centre on Mount Anthony Road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, and their host later conducted them to Governor Robinson's home On September 7th, the Presidential party left New Lebanon Springs in a springless wagon, bound for Albany by way of Kinderhook Road, and on Thursday, September 9th, set sail on an Albany sloop for New York, although, owing to contrary winds and tides, they did not reach that City until six days later.<sup>1</sup>

1 *Hoosac Valley*, 376–377, 432–434. An illustration on p. 439 is labelled: “Pownal Village in the Hoosac Pass of the Taconac Mountains. The picturesque intervale was beheld by President George Washington and Congressman William Smith during their horseback ride to Bennington Centre, August 30, 1790.”

32

Some scepticism having been aroused as to this alleged visit to Vermont by Washington, two years later, in an article headed “President Washington's journey through Hoosac Valley described—in a letter written by Congressman Smith in 1790,” Miss Niles wrote:

Nearly every colonial tavern of Revolutionary fame, that received man or beast, claims the honor of having entertained Gen. George Washington. Little if anything, however, is known today of President Washington's ride from Columbian Hall, New Lebanon Springs, N. Y., to Dewey's Tavern, Bennington Centre, during August 1790. He was accompanied by Congressman William Smith, of South Carolina. As to why the journey should have remained a secret—now nearly one hundred and twenty-five years, perhaps none of this generation will ever satisfactorily know.

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The only record, which exists relating to President Washington's ride to Bennington was discovered in a note attached to a letter of Congressman Smith's, addressed to his friends at home, in 1790. The letter was found among Mr. Smith's papers after his death and published a century after it was penned, in the *New York Evening Post*. The letter was subsequently re-printed in the semi-weekly edition of *The Troy Times*, April 11, 1905.

It is evident that President Washington's and Congressman Smith's ride to Bennington, related to some advice rendered to Gov. Moses Robinson, about the final measures required for Vermont's admittance to the Union. Certainly the visit to Bennington was not made purely for pleasure. The presidential party arrived at Councillor Isaac Tichenor's old mansion, on Mount Anthony road, west of the Walloomsac Inn, during the afternoon, Monday, August 30, 1790; Mr. Smith says, that he was conducted to Gov. Robinson's home, and later his party drank tea with Mr. Tichenor. They remained over night, either at Mr. Tichenor's home, or at Col. Dewey's Tavern—a large and good tavern, at that time. Tuesday morning they arose before sunrise, and returned to Lebanon Springs for dinner. Had the ride to Bennington been taken for pleasure, it is evident that they would have visited the site of the famous battlefield of the Benningtonians.

Lastly, under the heading “Reason for Trip,” Miss Niles says:

It is safe to say, that the Presidential party's ride to Bennington, in 1790, was made in order to hasten Vermont's admittance to the 33 Union. At that time it proved unwise to publish the President's and Congressman's visit, with Councillor Tichenor and Gov. Robinson. It might have involved objections of the leading officials of Congress from New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Vermont officers. Mr. Smith appears to have been the spokesman of the President's party, and headed the official visit on Gov. Robinson. In truth, the President's party departed before sunrise the following morning, and to this day, President Washington's and Congressman Smith's visit to Bennington is questioned by older residents of the town.<sup>1</sup>

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1 *North Adams Transcript*, March 28, 1914, p. 2. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Mabel Temple, librarian of the North Adams Public Library, which owns a file of the paper. Miss Temple writes that "Miss Niles prints quotations from Mr. Smith's letter, but the greater part is taken up with a description of his visit to the Shakers It is difficult, without having Mr. Smith's account, to tell where his remarks leave off and her remarks begin."

On my writing to Miss Niles asking her authority for the statement that Washington accompanied Mr. Smith, she courteously replied (March 13, 1917) as follows:

In answer to your inquiry about President Washington's visit to Bennington, I refer you to an article published by myself, in the *North Adams Transcript*, North Adams, Mass., Saturday, March 28, 1914, in which I cited extracts from Congressman William Smith's *Notes*. These Notes were found, according to a postscript, published on the *original* script Notes a century later about 1890, and printed later in *The Evening Post*. On the original Notes, as I understand it, in Mr. Smith's handwriting, he had penned the fact, that his journey to Lebanon Springs, over the Williamstown hill, to Bennington *was made with President Washington*, and a Mr. Izzard, and others The letter *first* published in *The Evening Post*, was later reprinted in *The Troy Semi-weekly Times*. I have this copy, but it is in storage, and I cannot now refer to it. I have had several inquiries about this visit to Bennington and can only refer you to Mr. William Smith's *postscript* added to his *Notes* kept on that *journey in 1790*. For this reason, in answer to inquirers, I prepared a short paper, citing the Notes of Mr. Smith, in the *North Adams Transcript*, to which I refer you. It was undoubtedly a *secret* journey on the part of Gen. Washington, made for the purpose of promoting Vermont's admittance to the Union. He was undoubtedly disguised.

It is evident from each of her accounts that Miss Niles had never seen Mr. Smith's Journal as printed in the *New York Evening Post* in 1888, but had relied on that portion of the Journal which was reprinted in *The Troy Times*, semi-weekly edition, of April 11, 1905. An examination of that issue shows that that portion was the third instalment of Mr. Smith's Journal,<sup>1</sup> which was reprinted (according to one of the present editors of the

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paper) “because of its local interest.” The article is headed “A Hundred Years Ago,” and appended is the following note, printed in small type:

1 See pp. 48–57, *infra*.

(From a letter written by William Smith, Congressman from South Carolina, in August 1790, and describing a journey with President George Washington. The letter was found in Mr. Smith's papers a century later and was published in the *New York Evening Post*. )<sup>2</sup>

2 *The Troy Times*, Semi-weekly edition, April 11, 1905, p. 2. For this extract and for information about the article in *The Troy Times* I am indebted to Miss Mary L. Davis, librarian of the Troy Public Library, who kindly consulted a file of the paper at the publication office.

Here, then, is the origin of Miss Niles' error in regard to Washington. The above note, which she mistakenly thought was written by Mr. Smith, was of course compiled in the office of *The Troy Times*.

The facts about Washington's movements in August-September, 1790, are as follows. On August 15 he left New York; reached Newport August 17, leaving there August 18; reached Providence August 18, leaving there August 19; reached New York August 21,<sup>3</sup> presumably remaining there until August 30; left New York August 30<sup>4</sup> —the very day when, according to Miss Niles, he was riding from New Lebanon to Bennington; reached Philadelphia September 2,<sup>5</sup> leaving there September 6;<sup>6</sup> reached Baltimore September 8, leaving there September 10;<sup>7</sup> reached Bladensburg September 10, leaving there September

3 See pp. 36–39, *infra*.

4 “Yesterday morning the President of the United States, and his family, left this city.” *New York Daily Gazette*, August 31, 1790.

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5 “Philadelphia, September 2. This day about 2 o'clock arrived in town from New-York, the President of the United States—his Lady, and their suite.” *New York Daily Gazette*, September 6.

6 “Philadelphia, September 6. This morning the President proceeded on his journey to his Seat in Virginia.” *New York Daily Gazette*, September 9.

7 “Baltimore, September 10. On Wednesday last [September 8], at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, the President of the United States, and his Lady, attended by their suite, arrived here from Philadelphia, on their way to Mount-Vernon This morning, at 6 o'clock, the President, his Lady and suite, set out on their journey.” *New York Daily Gazette*, September 17.

35 11; reached Georgetown September 11,<sup>1</sup> and Mount Vernon the same day.<sup>2</sup>

1 “George-Town, Sept. 15. Last Saturday [September 11] about eight o'clock in the morning, arrived here from Bladensburg, where they lodged the preceding night, the President of the United States.” *New York Daily Gazette*, September 22.

2 See W. S. Baker, *Washington after the Revolution, 1784–1799* (1898), 190–197.

### **JOURNAL<sup>3</sup> I NEW ENGLAND, AUGUST–SEPTEMBER, 1790**

3 The Journal has twice been printed: first in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 21, 28, May 5, June 2, 1888; and again in the semi-weekly edition of the *Post* of April 20, 24, May 1, 11, June 5. 1888.

August, 1790.<sup>4</sup>

4 This instalment, under the heading “One Hundred Years Ago. First Paper,” was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 14, 1888, where it is preceded by the following statement: “During the years from 1790 to 1797 William Smith of South Carolina was a

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member of the Congresses of the United States from the First to the Fifth, resigning in, 1797 to accept the post of Minister to Portugal. He was a man of excellent education, and a close observer of the manners and customs of the people. In his travels to and from Congress he was accustomed to keep a record of the events of the day, and the following was found among his papers some time ago, and is here published for the first time. The original orthography is followed closely.” The original manuscript is not owned by either the New York Historical Society or the South Carolina Historical Society; Mr. John P. Gavit, managing editor of the *Post*, kindly informs me that “there is nothing in our office records to indicate the source of the papers from the diary of William Smith, published in the *Evening Post* in 1888;” and I have been unable to locate the original.

As for the “original orthography” which, we are told, has been “closely followed,” either Mr. Smith made quite natural mistakes in the names of certain persons and places, or else the copyist was unable to decipher correctly Mr. Smith's writing. In a few cases, changes have silently been made.

Being at New York, as a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, which adjourned on the 12th of August and having some leisure, I resolved to make a tour into the back parts of the State of New York, and into some parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. The day after we adjourned, viz., Friday, the 13th, the President of the United States, General Washington, who had on that morning resolved to pay a visit to the State of Rhode Island in consequence of its accession to the Union,<sup>5</sup> did me the honor to invite me to be of his party; I could not decline so acceptable an

<sup>5</sup> When Washington made his tour of New England in the autumn of 1789, he purposely avoided Rhode Island, which did not ratify the Constitution until May 29, 1790.

<sup>36</sup> invitation, and accordingly sat off with his company on Sunday morning, the 15th, on board a Rhode Island packet.<sup>1</sup> We arrived at Newport Tuesday morning, after an agreeable passage. As we entered the harbour, a salute was fired from the fort and some pieces on the wharves; at our landing we were received by the principal

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inhabitants of the town, and the clergy, who, forming a procession, escorted us through a considerable concourse of citizens to the lodgings which had been prepared for us; the most respectable inhabitants were there severally presented to the President by Mr. Merchant,<sup>2</sup> Judge of the District Court.

1 From contemporary newspapers it appears that this was the packet *Hancock*, Capt. Brown.

2 Henry Marchant (1741–1796): see G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, Newport (1800), 132 *n*.

In the itinerary prefixed to the fifth volume (p. xxv) of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's edition of Jefferson's *Writings*, August 13, is given as the date of Jefferson's departure from New York. The *Independent Chronicle* of August 26 (p. 3/2;) said that "On Saturday, 14th inst. the President of the United States sailed from New-York." The date (August 15) given by Mr. Smith is confirmed by this item in the *New York Daily Gazette* of August 18: "On Sunday embarked on board one of the Packets, on a visit to Rhode Island, his Excellency the PRESIDENT Of the United States," etc. An item dated New York, August 12, printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of August 18, stated that "The PRESIDENT proposes a visit to the State of Rhode-Island." Washington's party consisted of Jefferson, Governor George Clinton (1739–1812) of New York, Judge John Blair (1732–1800) of the United States Supreme Court, Senator Theodore Foster (1752–1828) of Rhode Island, Congressman Nicholas Gilman of (1755–1814) of New Hampshire, Col. David Humphreys (1752–1818), Maj. William Jackson (1759–1812), Thomas Nelson (his secretary), and Mr. Smith: see *Columbian Centinel*, August 25.

The President then took a walk around the town and the heights above it, accompanied by the gentlemen of the party and a large number of gentlemen of Newport. We returned to our lodgings, and at four o'clock the gentlemen waited again on the President, and we all marched in procession to the Town Hall or State House, where, while dinner was serving

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up, a number of gentlemen were presented. The dinner was well dished, and conducted with great regularity and decency; the company consisted of about eighty persons; after dinner some good toasts were drank; among others, following: "May the last be first," in allusion to Rhode Island being the last State which ratified the Constitution. The President gave the "Town of Newport," and as soon as he withdrew, Judge Merchant gave "The man we love," which the company drank standing. The company then followed the President in another walk which he took around the Town: He passed by Judge Merchant's and drank a glass of wine, and then went to his lodgings, which closed the business of the day. I slept in the room with Governor Clinton.

37

Wednesday, 18th. Immediately after breakfast addresses were presented by the Clergy and the Town of Newport. That of the latter, by a committee, the chairman of which, Judge Merchant, began to read the address, but before he had proceeded far, he was so agitated he had to resign it to Col. Sherbet,<sup>1</sup> who read it very composedly. We then formed another long procession down to the wharf, and embarked for Providence. On our way through the main street in Newport, the President desired Mr. Nelson,<sup>2</sup> one of the gentlemen of his family (a relation of Mrs. Washington's) to step into a store and buy a pair of gloves for him. Mr. Nelson in vain applied to the mistress of the store who would not stir from the window where she stood with her eyes rivetted on the President, after having first hastily thrown a bundle of gloves on the counter; the delay occasioned by the lady's refusal to assist in finding a proper pair of gloves, induced the President to enter the shop, where he provided himself with gloves to the great gratification of the above lady, who had little idea that the gloves were wanted for him. We had a tedious passage to Providence, being seven hours in performing it. The same salute took place as at Newport, but the procession up to the Tavern was more solemn and conducted with much greater formality, having troops and music. The Governor<sup>3</sup> of the State was so zealous in his respects that he jumped aboard the packet as soon as she got to the wharf to welcome the President to Providence. The President with the Governor of the State on his right

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hand and Mr. Forster, a Senator in Congress, from Rhode Island, on his left moved in the front ranks; then followed Governor Clinton, Mr. Jefferson (the Secretary of State for the United States), Mr. Blair (a judge of the Supreme Federal Courts), myself, and the three gentlemen of the President's family, viz., Col. Humphreys, Maj. Jackson, and Mr. Nelson—who formed the party—afterwards followed the principal inhabitants of Providence and some from Newport, and other citizens making a long file, preceded by some troops and music; the doors and windows for the length of a mile, were all crowded with ladies and spectators. When we arrived at the tavern (Dagget's)<sup>4</sup> the President stood at the door, and the troops and the procession passed and saluted. In the procession were three negro scrapers making a horrible noise. We then sat

1 Unquestionably this was Col. Henry Sherburne (1747–1824): G. C. Mason, *Annals of Trinity Church*, Newport, 172 note.

2 Thomas Nelson, son of Thomas Nelson (1738–1789). See *Writings of Washington* (Ford), XI. 413.

3 Arthur Fenner (1745–1805)

4 This tavern, better known as the Golden Ball Inn, was kept by Abner Daggett and stood in Benefit Street, near the old State House.

38 down to a family dinner. After tea, just as the President was taking leave to go to bed, he was informed by Col. Peck (Marshal of the District, who had sailed with us from New York) that the students of the College<sup>1</sup> had illuminated it, and would be highly flattered at the President's going to see it, which he politely agreed to do, though he never goes out at night and it then rained a little, and was a disagreeable night. We now made a nocturnal procession to the College, which indeed was worth seeing, being very splendidly illuminated. I slept that night at Mr. Clarke's,<sup>2</sup> a merchant who has lately built a handsome house and is a man of property. His house was struck with lightning a few weeks ago, but

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is repaired: he treated me with much civility, having offered me a bed immediately on my arrival, though I had never seen him before.

1 Rhode Island College, now Brown University, was chartered in February, 1764.

2 John Innes Clarke.

Thursday morning began with heavy rain and cold easterly wind. It cleared at nine o'clock, and then the President, accompanied as before, began a walk which continued until one o'clock and which completely fatigued the company which formed his escort. We walked all around the Town, visited all the apartments of the College, went on the roof to view the beautiful and extensive prospect, walked to a place where a large Indiaman of 900 tons was on the stocks, went on board her, returned to town, stopped and drank wine and punch at Mr. Clarke's, Mr. Brown's,<sup>3</sup> Gov. Turner's,<sup>4</sup> and Gov. Bowen's,<sup>5</sup> and then returned home. As soon as the President was rested, he received the addresses of the Cincinnati, the Rhode Island College, and the Town of Providence,<sup>6</sup> and then went immediately to dinner to the Town Hall. The dinner consisted of 200 persons, and an immense crowd surrounded the hall. After dinner several toasts were drank; the second was "The President of the United States," at which the whole company within and without gave three huzzas and a long clapping of hands. The President

3 John Brown, whose house in Power Street is now owned by Mr. Marsden, J. Perry. I am indebted to Mr. Howard M. Chapin of Providence for identifying Messrs. Daggett, Clarke, and Brown.

4 Mr. Smith no doubt wrote "Fenner:" see p. 37, note 3, *supra*.

5 Jabez Bowen, who had been Deputy-Governor in 1778–1780, 1781–1786.

6 The addresses presented to Washington at Newport by the town and the clergy, and at Providence by the inhabitants, the Corporation of Rhode Island College, and the Society of the Cincinnati, together with Washington's replies, were printed in the *Boston Gazette*

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of August 30 and September 6. The address of the Hebrew Congregation at Newport was printed in the *New York Daily Gazette* of September 14. The Boston Athenæum owns the original address presented by the Lodge of St. David at Newport, signed by Moses Seixas and Henry Sherburne, and Washington's reply, signed by himself.

39 then rose and drank the health of all the company; he afterward gave "The Town of Providence." Among other toasts, there were given "The King and National Assembly of France." Several French gentlemen who sat together then rose and bowed. "Faithfulness in the collection and economy in the expenditure of the public revenue," and "The establishment of public credit and private faith." Cannon was fired at each toast; at the conclusion of the toasts, the President rose, and the whole company, with a considerable crowd of citizens, walked down to the wharf, where he and his suite embarked for New York.<sup>1</sup> I took chaise at the same moment for Norwich and reached Manchester's tavern that night, about twelve miles, over a stony, rugged, and disagreeable road.

<sup>1</sup> The *New York Daily Gazette* of Monday, August 23, stated that "on Saturday afternoon arrived the President of the United States, and his suit, from Rhode Island."

This part of the State of Rhode Island is the most barren and unpeopled, the country very rocky, and the people as uncultivated as the country; they are generally anti-Federal, and ignorant, and dislike any government which calls on them for taxes, in fact, they seem to care very little what government prevails or whether there is any at all, and would prefer that which required the least taxes. It is here remarkable that much use is made of wooden fences, though the country abounds with stones very convenient for stone walls, which as I advanced into a better country were more in use, though the country was much less stony; this is owing to the poverty of the former, where they are unable to bestow the labor necessary for stone walls. Notwithstanding the roads were extremely disagreeable and fatiguing, yet the prospects were pleasant; distant hills and woods, and occasionally a rapid stream, and now and then some well-cultivated fields enlivened the scene; to this was added some very fine weather, so that my journey to Hartford was a pleasant one.

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I left Manchester's tavern early on Friday morning, on my way to Norwich. My landlord complained bitterly of taxes. He said he paid about fifteen pounds lawful money a year; that his farm consisted of 200 acres, one-half of which was improved, and that he could barely make a living. The land certainly required great labor, as it appeared nearly covered with stones, and the road to Providence is so bad as to render the transportation of produce very inconvenient and expensive.

I breakfasted at Nixon's tavern at Valenton,<sup>2</sup> thirteen miles. My landlord here, has two smart daughters, whose heads were ornamented with wigs, which are much worn by the lower class of

<sup>2</sup> Voluntown, Connecticut.

40 females in New England: these wigs are convenient and give considerable smartness to the appearance when well-frizzed and powdered, and are always handy; they are hung up in the room and when any company appears they are fixed on the head in a moment. From Valenton I passed through Plainfield, a pretty country town. From a high hill which I ascended there is a very magnificent prospect of an extensive range of country, some miles around Plainfield—a highly cultivated plain interspersed with woods and surrounded by beautiful hills, illuminated by a bright sun, opened a charming view just as I reached the brow of the hill, and struck me with an agreeable surprise. A similar view appeared just as I arrived within a mile or two of Norwich, which is a very neat town with several handsome houses. I dined at Norwich, and after dinner paid a visit to Mr. B. Huntingdon,<sup>1</sup> a member of the House of Representatives in Congress. He has a large family, and his eldest son is a coachmaker. He accompanied me in a walk; we ascended a high rocky hill, which divided Norwich into two parts, called Up-town and Down-town, which distinctions have created distinctions among the inhabitants. The Up-town part is called sometimes “Bean Hill,” arising from a report which the inhabitants had spread by way of derision, that the Up-town people had a way of eating beans and bacon every Saturday for supper. This report introduced the custom in both parts of the Town, and the inhabitants now regularly sup on Saturday on beans and bacon.<sup>2</sup> From the hill (where the Meeting house

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formerly stood) is a charming prospect: the Town is extensive and spread before the traveler surrounded by a well-cultivated and thickly settled country; Norwich landing is about two miles distant. After I had paid a visit to the Governor, Samuel Huntington,<sup>3</sup> formerly President of Congress, I hired a chaise and rode ten miles that evening, to Mr. Jona. Trumbull's<sup>4</sup>

1 Benjamin Huntington (1736–1800).

2 Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), 78, 510–514.

3 Samuel Huntington (1731–1796).

4 Printed “John” Trumbull, but Mr. Smith doubtless wrote “Jona” Trumbull—that is, the second Governor Jonathan Trumbull 1740–1809). On November 11, 1804, Jonathan Mason (1756–1831) wrote: “Tarried the Sunday at New Haven Invited Jonathan Trumbull and William Smith of South Carolina to dine with me at Mr. Butler's, and the company of each of them was desirable from their polite and easy deportment.” *2 Proceedings*, 11. 7. The editors say in a footnote: “These were probably students in Yale College.” There were no such students at that time at Yale, and the persons who dined with Mason were doubtless Governor Trumbull and our Mr. Smith, the former of whom must have been in New Haven from October 11 to November 2, as the fall session of the Assembly began and ended on those dates, and the latter of whom had returned from Europe in 1803: see p. 27, *supra*.

41 at Lebanon; the road was rather rough but the country was picturesque. About Norwich there are several romantic scenes, a river, woods, and high hills diversify the prospect every moment. Lebanon is a valuable township, the lands fertile and well-cultivated: they export their produce to Norwich landing, from whence there is good navigation fourteen miles to New London. Mr. B. Huntington, the member of Congress, attended me at the inn till I sat off from Norwich. I had directed the landlord (Mr. Brown,<sup>1</sup> a very civil man who keeps a good house) to hire me a one horse chaise; it was brought to the door while

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Mr. Huntingdon was with me, who knew that I had hired it from my landlord. A little boy accompanied me as agreed, to bring the chaise back; on the road I asked him whose horse and chaise it was, and was greatly surprised to find that it belonged to my friend Mr. B. Huntingdon, of whom my landlord had hired them; he has a large family and this is one of his resources to get money.

1 Jesse Brown. Frances M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1866), 512–513.

I past the night at my acquaintance Trumbull's; he has a farm of 200 acres, reckoned a very considerable one, and lives comfortably on it. The next morning the stage called on me and we reached Hartford at four o'clock in the afternoon. The road from Norwich to Hartford is less stony and disagreeable than that from Providence to Norwich, but is far from being smooth or pleasant to travel over in a carriage; one is, however, indemnified by a succession of pleasing views. The whole way from Norwich the country is thickly settled, farm houses in sight constantly, the country well-cultivated, meadows, hills, and distant woods rising one above the other. We passed through several towns. I stopped at one about nineteen miles from Norwich, and took a view of the church-yard; from the age of many of the deceased the climate must be very healthy. The inhabitants did not, however, shine in the poetical line, to judge at least from the versification on the tomb-stones, a specimen of which is in these words:

Behold as you pass by As you are now, so once was I; As I am now, so you must be,  
Prepare for death and follow me.

On the tomb-stone of Deborah House, a great name in this Town, was written "She lived desirable, and died lamented." I dined at Woodbridge's tavern, nine miles from Hartford. The road from this place, which is called East Hartford, is smooth and good; a few miles before I arrived at the river, I had from an eminence as I 42 crossed the Bolton hills, an extensive view of a fine country, and caught a distant glimpse of Connecticut Towns.

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There is also a most charming view a mile or two after leaving the tavern, of a rich plain containing meadows and woods.

At1 Hartford I crossed the ferry over the Connecticut River, which is navigable up to this place for large sloops. About sixty sea vessels belong to Hartford, which carries on much business and is a flourishing town. The river frequently changes its bed, and by its deviations occasions much alteration of property, and gives rise to many law suits, a circumstance not disagreeable to the people of Connecticut, who are acknowledged by themselves to be very litigious; this spirit they account for from their being so well-informed, their knowledge of their rights and their equality makes them extremely jealous of any encroachment or invasion and they are determined rather to incur the expense of law (which is cheap enough) than to risk any violation of their just rights. At Hartford I saw a remarkable old oak in which the Charter of Connecticut was concealed in the year 1684 by a Mr. Wadsworth, an ancestor of the present Jeremiah Wadsworth,<sup>2</sup> a member of Congress from this State. The Charter of Massachusetts had been taken away and the Governor of Connecticut was instructed to take away that of Connecticut; as it lay on the table Wadsworth blew out the candle and ran and hid this charter in a hollow part of this oak, where the Governor was unable to find it; the revolution soon after took place, and the Charter was out of danger.<sup>3</sup> There is in this town an old gentleman of the name of Willis;<sup>4</sup> he is upwards of eighty years of age, is the Secretary of the State, and has held that office upwards of sixty years; he is still in the full possession of his faculties and of the esteem of his countrymen, he owns a very considerable landed estate about Hartford. I had seen at Providence a Mr. Ward,<sup>5</sup> upwards of sixty years old, who had been Secretary of State upwards of forty years, which was thought a very remarkable instance of continuance in office, but that of Mr. Willis is the most extraordinary ever known. These instances and many others, are proofs of

1 Here begins the second instalment of the Journal, printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 21, 1888, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago. Second Paper."

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2 Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743–1804).

3 The year should be 1687, not 1684. As the tradition is usually related, the credit of having hidden the Connecticut charter is given to Capt. Joseph Wadsworth, but Mr. Smith's account assigns it to John Wadsworth, a brother of Joseph and the ancestor of Col. Jeremiah.

4 George Wyllys 1710–1796).

5 Henry Ward (1732–1797).

43 good sense in the East. Inhabitants who continue their old servants in office, as long as they behave well.

The country around Hartford is well-cultivated and the soil fertile; this is the oldest settlement in Connecticut and is perhaps the most thickly peopled part of the United States. In the towns of Connecticut I was struck with the calm and tranquility which prevails; though they are full of inhabitants, yet none are scarce. seen in the streets, no carriages are moving about, and a stranger would suppose that he had entered a deserted village. Here is no idleness, no lounging and chattering in the streets; every one is at work either in the field or in his house; no vagrants, no beggars to be seen; on the week-days all are at work, and on Sundays all are at home, reading the Bible. It is reckoned improper to walk about the streets and visit on Sundays; after services they all go home. Sunday forenoon I went with Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth's family to church, where I heard very good singing in parts by men and women, who stand in opposite galleries while they sing: I also heard a pretty good preacher, Mr. Strong.<sup>1</sup> There are in Hartford two Meeting houses for Congregationalists and none for Episcopalians, who are very few in number. Monday morning I rode to Middletown, fifteen miles, and dined at Bigelow's tavern, and returned in the afternoon to Hartford. This was the most delightful ride I ever remembered to have taken, more beautiful scenery in that distance than in any part of my travels; the whole a most romantic country, thickly settled, highly cultivated, and adorned both by

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nature and art. Weathersfield about four miles from Hartford is a pretty town on the road to Middletown. After I had dined at Middletown, I rode up a hill back of the Town from which I had a most enchanting scene; looking down I saw a pretty town on the borders of a fine navigable river, a country richly cultivated, intermixed with houses and woods, the opposite banks of the river equally cultivated and bounded by rising hills, some covered with woods, others with meadows and corn fields. Returning to Hartford I enjoyed the whole way a succession of delightful prospects; first, the road for a few miles was close along the river, on one side meadows ornamented with hay-stacks and distant high hills, on the other a river ornamented with vessels sailing about and the other side romantic. Then ascending a steep hill the prospect as you turn back is extremely grand; the distant view of Middletown, a long range of the river, various hills, woods, fields, meadows, numberless settlements, and the whole bounded by lofty hills rising in masses and presenting variegated shapes. Approaching Weathersfield, another very fine scene suddenly opened from the

1 Rev. Nathan Strong (1748–1816).

44 brow of a hill over which the road runs; an extensive plain, through which the river is seen meandering, presenting the appearance of a large garden, and so thickly settled with houses that it appears like one town, the steeple of Weathersfield rising in the middle of it, the richness of verdure forms a delicious view.

Weathersfield is famous for onions, the smell of which salutes the nose of the traveller on entering the Town. Here I was shown the son of the celebrated Elizabeth Canning and the house where she lived. He is a lad about twelve or fourteen. She was brought out from England by a Mr. Williams, who settled at Weathersfield and married her to a Mr. Treat by whom she had several children; he was a respectable citizen and she was also respected by her neighbors; they are both dead.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Wadsworth met me a mile beyond the Town and we ascended the steeple of Weathersfield to enjoy the view, which well rewarded us for our trouble; it is extensive, embraces Hartford and the country beyond it and surpasses all description. Tuesday a party was made on my account by Col. Wadsworth to the mountains west of Hartford. We sat off after breakfast a party of

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about a dozen, and rode seven or eight miles to the foot of the mountain, we ascended some time a rugged, steep road; from the summit is a commanding view of a level, well-cultivated country on each side the river, with Hartford, Weathersfield, and Suffield. From the other side of the mountain, looking west, is a very grand view. Just under our feet was an immense thick forest, the top of which resembled the waves of the ocean, and appeared a considerable distance below us; a very extensive range of country lay before us to the right and left, the whole highly cultivated and interspersed with settlements; the town of Farmington is seen at a distance and the whole is extremely picturesque. At the top of the mountain is a curious pond surrounded with rocks and woods, in a very romantic situation. Upon my observing that the piece of water was disgraced by calling it a pond, and that it well merited the name of lake, it was resolved by the company that it should in future be denominated a lake, and as I was the first person who had dignified it with that appellation, it should be termed thereafter Lake Smith. We sat down to a rustic dinner (which we had carried with us) on

1 For Elizabeth Canning, see the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Dr. H. R. Stiles's *History of Wethersfield*, I 689–694; 711–716. Her arrival at Boston was noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 7, 1754 1754. She lived for a while in the family of the Rev. Col. Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711, Rector of Yale College, 1726–1739) and on November 24, 1756, was married to John Treat. She died in 1773, while he lived until 1796. Either the wrong youth was pointed out to Mr. Smith or the latter was a poor judge of ages, for the youngest of their five children was born in 1766.

45 the verdant moss in a beautiful spot, encircled with rocks and groves, with the lake just below us. In the afternoon we returned to Hartford, and I was made acquainted with Mr. John Trumbull,<sup>1</sup> the celebrated author of the poem “McFingal,” who supped with us at Col. Wadsworth's.

1 John Trumbull (1750–1831).

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Wednesday morning we sat off for Springfield; I breakfasted with Mr. Ellsworth,<sup>2</sup> member of the Federal Senate from Connecticut, at Windsor, ten miles from Hartford, where he has a comfortable, neat house on a pleasant little farm. I then passed through Suffield, a pretty little town situated on an eminence and commanding a pleasing and extensive view; the Meeting house is at a little distance a fine object, being situated on very high ground. Passing on to Springfield, I crossed the Connecticut River which is wide here, and then entered the Town, which is a pretty considerable one. Here are some public stores of arms and accoutrements, and cannon belonging to the United States: they are kept in very good order. I think there were 8,000 stands of arms, and a large quantity of gun powder. In the rebellion in Massachusetts, in 1787, Shays made an attempt on this place, but though superior in force to the Government party, was completely routed at the first shot from a piece of cannon, which killed a few of his men; he fled with great precipitation and some of his people did not stop till they had travelled upwards of forty miles that day. He now resides on his farm in Arlington in the State of Vermont, fifteen miles from Bennington.<sup>3</sup> I saw two stockade forts which were hastily erected for the protection of the stores, and are still standing. The public stores are on an eminence just above Springfield, which commands a fine view of Springfield and the adjacent country, which is highly cultivated and pleasing. I drank tea with the Miss Worthingtons, daughters of Col. Worthington, one of the most reputable characters of this part of the country. His eldest daughter, it is said, is about to be married to Mr. Ames.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Oliver Ellsworth (1745–1807)

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Shays (1747–1825) was pardoned and died at Sparta, New York.

<sup>4</sup> John Worthington (1719–1800), whose third (not eldest) daughter Frances was married to Fisher Ames, July 15, 1792.

The journey from Hartford to Springfield is a most agreeable one, through a thickly settled country well-cultivated, and over good roads; the river makes its appearance

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now and then, and there are some distant mountains which terminate the scene agreeably. Thursday I left Springfield, crossed the river, and intended to take the road to Northampton, having been informed that it was a very thriving town, in a beautiful country, but my driver having mistaken 46 the road and carried me within a few miles of Westfield, to which I intended to go from Northampton, and being apprehensive from his ignorance of the roads of encountering similar difficulties in other places, I resolved to proceed on to Westfield, where I got to breakfast. The country hereabouts is romantic; a river called the Westfield River is seen through the woods, and the prospect, which is limited, is terminated by high mountains. Westfield is divided by this river, and is a large settlement. It is nearly at the foot of the mountain, which must be crossed in progressing westward, it is a continuation of the Green Mountains, which run the whole length of Vermont from north to south, and then running southerly proceed on to New Haven; any communication to the east and west of this long ridge is attended with difficulty, as the crossing this mountain in any place is bad and troublesome, particularly with a carriage. I was in a four-wheeled carriage, and unfortunately selected the worst place, intending to go from Springfield through Stockbridge to New Lebanon, where I expected to meet my family who had gone there from New York. Leaving Westfield I coasted along the river through a very bad, but a very romantic road; it is over rocks and through a thick forest; on one side high mountains clothed with woods to their summit, on the other, the river just below you, running rapidly over a bed of rocks, and high mountains covered with impenetrable forests, rising on the opposite shore. I then crossed a large wooden bridge, and having the river on my right began to ascend the Green Mountains: now for miles the badness of the road exceeds description. We ascended for five miles a steep mountain, which took us four hours; the prospect consisted of nothing but other mountains rising one above the other, rocky and bleak, here and there the appearance of a new settlement in the woods.

We then got to a place called by some Glasgow, and by others Blandford Street.<sup>1</sup> This is for a few miles a tolerably level country,

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1 In his Address delivered before the Literary Association, Blandford, September 21, 1850, William H. Gibbs said:

“In 1741 the town was incorporated by the name of Blandford; previous to that period it had borne the name of Glasgow.

“The inhabitants of the city of Glasgow promised the citizens of this town, that if they would continue its former name they would present a church-bell to them. It was the design of the people that it should bear the name of Glasgow. Therefore they petitioned the General Court for that name. But William Shirley, who had been appointed Governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay under the Crown of Great Britain, had just arrived in a ship bearing the name Blandford. In honor of said ship, he chose to have the new town which applied for an act of incorporation called by its name. Hence the name of Blandford was given to this town” (p. 17).

The “Act for erecting Suffeild Equivalent Lands, commonly called Glasgow, in the County of Hampshire, into a township by the name of Blandford” was passed and published April 10, 1741 ( *Massachusetts Province Laws*, II. 1058–1059). Shirley was not commissioned Governor until May 25 and not inaugurated until August 14, 1741, at which time he was at his house in Boston. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XVII 74. Obviously, therefore, the above account is erroneous. But when Belcher came over as Governor in August, 1730, he arrived in the man-of-war *Blandford* ( *ib.* XVII. 73).

47 the prospect commanding. From Blandford Street we proceeded on towards Becket; for a mile or two the road was tolerable and the prospect fine, on the right an extensive view of a well-cultivated country, and many waving hills. We then entered a wood and had for about six miles the most execrable road that was ever traveled by a carriage; a narrow track through a forest, the path full of huge rocks and loose stones, up and down hill the whole way; I trembled every step of the way lest the carriage should be shattered or the horses give out: we were obliged to quit the carriage and walk the whole way. I

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could only advance at the rate of a mile an hour. With much difficulty we reached a tavern kept by one Foley, five miles from Blandford Street, where I put up that night, and contrary to my expectations from the external appearance of his house, got a decent supper and a good bed. He was settled in the midst of the forest, surrounded with rocks and woods, and his habitation had the most dreary appearance. He however made a subsistence, raised plenty of grain, and made his own sugar from the maple trees. This practise I found very common; the forests in this part of the country abound with the maple and sugar is extracted with great ease. Early on Friday I proceeded on and had about two miles of road, if possible worse; with much care the carriage was got through without damage, and then quitting the forest we arrived at Becket, where lives one Perkins, who informed me that it was impossible to get along to Stockbridge with my carriage in the direct road, and that my only route was through Pittsfield. I therefore immediately resolved to alter my route and proceed on to Pittsfield and New Lebanon, and from thence take a ride to Stockbridge. Becket is a small town situated on very high ground, being nearly the highest part of the Green Mountains; the country around it appears well cleared and settled in comparison with the wilderness I had just left. In the road from Westfield to Becket little else is to be seen but forests and rocks, with here and there a new settlement and others just forming. The whole has very much the appearance of a country in its infant state.

I left Connecticut between Windsor and Springfield and continued in the State of Massachusetts till I had left Pittsfield; the New York line is between that place and New Lebanon, which was 48 formerly part of Hancock, being considered in Massachusetts, but on running the line it is found to be in New York. From the town of Becket, a well-cultivated country appears at a great distance to the northward and considerably below Becket, which however is surrounded by hills which have a black aspect. The road here improved a little, though still hilly and rugged. We went on seven miles to Washington, a small town, where we breakfasted at a Widow Milligan's whose accommodations surpassed the expectations the exterior of the house had excited. Her husband and herself had emigrated from Ireland about twenty odd years ago, and first settled at Hartford; they

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then purchased a farm in this new country. They left Ireland because they wished to be independent landholders instead of oppressed tenants and because they paid heavy rates, but she said she began now to find little difference between this country and Ireland, for what with the state taxes, county rates, poor rates, church rates, school rates, and road assessments she found taxes very heavy; her tax amounted to about five pounds lawful money and her farm was small. They came from the north of Ireland, and were Protestants: she spoke with a strong Scotch accent. Proceeding on to Pittsfield, the road improved so much that we were able to trot, which was a considerable gratification to me, as for nearly two days we had only gone at foot's pace. Passing through a wood, we suddenly arrived at the edge of the mountain on which we had been since the preceding morning, and had a most enchanting view of the prodigious extent of country, cultivated throughout and intermixed with woods. At a great distance below us Pittsfield appeared beautiful in this plain and the whole afforded a rich scene, strangely contrasted with the gloomy forest and uncomfortable rocks we had left. I dined at Pittsfield, which is a pretty town, and sat off in the afternoon for the Pool or New Lebanon, where I arrived at dark, having travelled the whole distance in a heavy rain, which prevented my seeing the country, but the following afternoon, I took a ride towards Pittsfield which is separated from it by a very high mountain, from the top of which I had a very pleasing view of Pittsfield and the adjacent country which is well settled.

The<sup>1</sup> Pool, the Springs, or Lebanon Springs (for it has occasionally all these denominations)<sup>2</sup> is renowned for its waters which are reckoned anti-rheumatick, anti-scorbutick, bracing and serviceable

<sup>1</sup> Here begins the third instalment of the Journal, printed in the *New York Evening Post* of April 29, 1888, under the heading "One Hmdred Hundred Years Ago. Third Paper."

<sup>2</sup> In 1790 the villages of New Lebanon and Lebanon Springs were in the township of Canaan, and the present township of New Lebanon was not set off from Canaan until 1818.

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49 in a variety of disorders; they are for bathing and drinking; they are very soft, moderately cool, and have the same effect to the feelings as the waters of the Matlock in Derbyshire. New Lebanon is a settlement of about twenty-five years; it is surrounded with high hills but the land is fine and the vales highly cultivated; indeed the cultivation has reached the very summit of the loftiest hills; others are still beautifully clothed with woods. The place has therefore a romantic appearance, and from the purity of the air and the dryness of the soil the hills must be salubrious, which in many instances added to the regularity of life, of diet, and of exercise, conduces more probably to the restoration of health and vigour than the use of the waters. There are two farms in the Town which are yet kept in a rude state; a store and a few dwelling-houses compose the Town, which improves rapidly. In the summer months some persons reside here weeks, others only dip *en passant*. The keeper of the bath is subject to violent convulsion fits; whenever he is attacked by them, he is thrown instantly into the bath and instantly springs up saying, "I am well again." He has tried other waters in vain. Once some persons, suspecting him to be an impostor, pretending the fits in order to raise the reputation of the baths, threw him into other water, but they soon found their mistake and were glad to plunge him into the right place, where he soon recovered.

Within two or three miles of the Pool is a settlement of shaking Quakers,<sup>1</sup> whose mode of worship we went to see on the Sunday following, viz., the 29th. We arrived there about ten o'clock in the forenoon and found them at work. In a long, low room of a very neat building painted white, were about fifty men and from eighty to one hundred women; the preacher stood in the centre, on his right hand were the men, arranged in rows, on his left the women in similar order; two men with their hands applied to their jaws and two or three women sung, or rather howled sundry strange tunes (one of them was "The Black Joke"), to which the men and women danced in uniform step, occasionally all turning around. The men had taken off their coats and waistcoats and hung them up about

<sup>1</sup> Ann Lee (1736–1784) came to this country in 1774, founded in 1776 at Niskenna (now Watervliet, N. Y.) the first American Shaker society, and died there in 1784. In 1779 there

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was a revival at New Lebanon, in 1780 some of the people there visited Mother Lee at Watervliet, and in 1787 the Shaker community was organized at New Lebanon. See the notice of Ann Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and, for early accounts of the Shakers at New Lebanon, Timothy Dwight, *Travels*, III in, 149–169; B. Silliman, *Remarks made on a Short Tour between Hartford and Quebec* (1824), 40–55; Theodore Dwight, Jr., *Northern Traveller* (1826) 44–48; S. Y. Wells, *Testimonies concerning the Character and Ministry of Mother Ann Lee* (1827); *Peculiarities of the Shakers described by a Visitor* (1832); F. W. Evans, *Compendium of the Origin*, etc. (1859).

50 the room, and tied up their shirt sleeves; they were most of them in trowsers. The women in close, white caps, short jackets, and stiff petticoats: both sexes had thick shoes which made a horrible clatter and shuffling on the floor: the warmth of the weather and such continuous exercise occasioned a profuse sweating, which appeared all over the shirts and the trowsers of the men, and through the very stays of the women, and produced an horrible smell; some of the men were wringing wet, and the sweat dropped from their faces on the floor. There were occasional intermissions when they all stopped; and the preacher, who is an amazing booby, muttered a few words, something to this effect: "Avoid carnal lusts. Labor to shake off sin; sin is hateful; I hate sin. Power of God. Those who come here must observe our rules and orders; the men come in at the west door, women at the east. Strangers must observe silence at our worship; there must be no talking, whispering, or unnecessary goings in and out. Those who come here and don't observe our rules and orders are the basest of mankind." Then turning to the men (who were all arranged in files and held down their heads with their hands clasped before them): "Labour to shake off sin." Then turning to the women, arranged in the same order: "You also labour to shake off sin. You have had an intermission: those who wish to serve God and to labour, prepare again for labour."

Then the men would pull off their clothes as before, and both sexes resuming their places, the howl would commence and with it the dance. In the intermissions some of the most devout would shake from head to foot, as if seized with shivering fits of the ague. At every

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cessation of labour, the preacher would make the same address to the spectators, who were very observant of these rules and required no admonition, but he either thought it would recommend him to his congregation or he was at a loss for something to say. However absurd their form of worship, it is not the worst part of their devotions; they reprobate matrimony; if any married persons become members of this church, they must immediately live in a state of separation, and any connection between them is considered criminal and the parties expelled; they continue their sect by making proselytes. Their neighbors give them a good reputation for their scrupulous observance of farming industry and attention to agriculture. Their elders own several farms which have been made over to them by new members and which are cultivated for the good of the society. There were two negroes among the dancers, one of them was the best dancer there; all ages joined in the dance. Their settlement is in a romantic situation, in the midst of a fine country, well-cultivated, and their buildings are very neat.

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After dancing for three hours they walked home and exposed themselves without any caution to the open air. Their service lasts from nine to twelve in the forenoon, and two to five in the afternoon.

Monday morning, August 30, I went on horseback to Bennington and returned on Tuesday; the ride is a very agreeable one. Quitting Lebanon, you proceed through a narrow vale to Hancock, having on your left a distant view of the Meeting-house at Septhenton<sup>1</sup> on an eminence. A well-cultivated country the whole way; in some places are seen the most beautiful vales, in others variegated hills, some cultivated to their summit. Fifteen miles from Lebanon we breakfasted at Sloane's tavern<sup>2</sup> at Williamstown, in Massachusetts. The principal part of the town is about four miles further on, where they are building a handsome brick college, seventy feet by fifty and three stories high, a donation from Mr. Williams<sup>3</sup> from whom the Town took its name, is applied by his executors to the erection of this college, which will be in a fine, healthy country. Between Williamstown and Bennington are many pleasing scenes; one is particularly striking, the

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road runs on the side of a high and steep mountain, from which it has been cut out, and just beneath you runs a river with a rapid course, foaming over a bed of rocks; this river, which is called the Housack, with the steep, lofty mountain rising almost perpendicular from it, and covered to its summit with a thick forest, affords a most enchanting scene. You soon after ascend a mountain, and, looking back on the vale beneath, another fine view opens to the sight of rich lands watered by the river. About nine miles from Bennington you enter Vermont State; the rest of the road is along the foot of mountains, some very rugged and rocky, others woody; the vales cultivated; many of the settlements just in their infancy. Bennington is a very pretty town at the foot of a high hill in the shape of a cone, which is entirely covered with maple trees. Around the Town the country has a beautiful aspect, the lands being rich and well improved. Mr. Tichenor<sup>4</sup> one of the principal persons of this new State, waited on me and conducted me to Mr. Robinson,<sup>5</sup> the Governor, who gave me a

1 Stephentown, Rensselaer County, N. Y.

2 The tavern was kept by Gen. Samuel Sloan (1740–1813). A. L. Perry, *Origins of Williamstown* (1900), 511.

3 Col. Ephraim Williams (1714–1755). “The house for the Free School”—Mr. Smith's “handsome brick college”—“plain, unpretentious, yet having a certain quiet dignity withal—has been known for more than a hundred years as West College” (L. W. Spring, *History of Williams College*, 1917, 38). The Free School was opened on October 26, 1791, and chartered as Williams College on June 22, 1793.

4 Isaac Tichenor (1754–1838).

5 Moses Robinson 1741–1813).

52 polite reception. We drank tea with Mr. Tichenor, who is a gentleman of the law. There is a large and good tavern, kept by Col. Dowie,<sup>1</sup> whose son is married to the Governor's daughter. The next morning we sat out early, and arrived to dinner at Lebanon.

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1 Mr. Smith probably wrote “Dewle”, and he should have said “whose daughter is married to the Governor's son.” The allusion is to Capt. Elijah Dewey, whose daughter Ruth married Moses Robinson, Jr. *Life of George Dewey and Dewey Family History* (1898), 870–872, 904–905.

Vermont is settled by New Englanders; it has, consequently, all the New England manners and policy. It is 190 miles in length and 40 to 90 in breadth; it contains 20,000 fighting men and about 90,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. The country now called Vermont was formerly part of the New Hampshire Province, and a considerable part of it was sold to individuals by the Governor of New Hampshire. Gov. Colden<sup>2</sup> of New York having suggested to the king and council that it would be convenient to make Connecticut River the eastern boundary of New York, it was so resolved and thereupon Gov. Colden and his successors have granted lands to a considerable amount in Vermont, part of which were previously granted by New Hampshire and the remainder unlocated. In 1777 under a pretence that the country of Vermont was not protected by New York nor Congress, the inhabitants set up an independent government,<sup>3</sup> which New Hampshire has recognized, but New York constantly refused; she was however, unable to recognize any authority or jurisdiction within the Territory of Vermont, and has gradually ceased further attempts, but the right to the land still remains a question between them. The lands which were claimed under prior grants from New Hampshire, New York has relinquished, but claims either the lands which were not covered by a prior grant, or an indemnification for them. The Vermonters refused, alleging that Vermont was, prior to its independence, a part of New Hampshire, and that New Hampshire by relinquishing her claim has established the right of the present holders by possession. New York contends that the king and council had a right to make such boundaries to the provinces as they pleased in their wisdom, and that by throwing Vermont into the province of New York, the Governor had a right to grant the lands, which were not previously granted by the Governor of New Hampshire. Commissioners are appointed by both States to settle these contending claims to this Territory;

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2 Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776).

3 At a convention held at Westminster January 15, 1777, a State government was organized “by the name of New-Connecticut;” but at a convention held at Windsor June 4, 1777, the name was changed to Vermont. *Connecticut Courant*, March 17, and June 30, 1777.

53 they are to meet in New York the end of the month of September.<sup>1</sup> After this point is settled, it is expected Vermont will become a member of the Union.<sup>2</sup> A part of Vermont being bounded by Canada, they receive part of their supplies from that province, the rest from Albany, Hartford, etc.

1 The New York and Vermont Commissioners met September 27–October 7, 1790,

2 At a convention held at Bennington January 6–10, 1791, the Federal Constitution was ratified, and on March 4th Vermont was admitted to the Union.

Saturday, September 4. After dinner, accompanied by Mr. H. Izard<sup>3</sup> and Mr. J. Smith,<sup>4</sup> I rode to Stockbridge on a visit to Mr. Sedgwick<sup>5</sup>, we passed through the Shaker settlement and then ascended a high hill, from which the prospect of the settlement and the distant hill, highly cultivated, is charming. Passing through a woody country we soon arrive at Richmond, a town of great extent and straggling settlements; the lands appear good and the ground is much cleared, and the prospect of the well-cultivated plain is pleasing. Quitting Richmond we arrived at some iron works, and then traveling through a thick wood, had from an eminence a fine view of Stockbridge which is a very large settlement, containing some handsome houses, among which Mr. Sedgwick's is for size and beauty the most conspicuous. The lands are also good here and well-cultivated and the extensive plain thickly covered with settlements and encircled by fine romantic hills presents an agreeable scene. We supped and slept at Mr. Sedgwick's, and after breakfast the next morning returned to the Pool, having stopt about an hour at the Shakers' Meeting house to

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take another view of their ridiculous worship. Stockbridge is about sixteen miles from the Pool.

Tuesday, September 7th. Early in the morning we left the Pool for Albany, the distance about thirty miles. The road for about fifteen miles is bad, hilly, and rocky, and traveling in a wagon without springs was extremely rough and unpleasant. The first part of the road is through a wild country, where new settlements are just forming along the brow of wooded hills or in rich vales; the wildness of the mountains and the multitude of the stumps yet remaining on the cleared ground give a gloominess to the prospect of this country, which in a few years will doubtless be a beautiful one, for the land is good and it is fast settling. We passed by Schermerhorn's mills and soon after ascending a high hill enjoyed from its summit a prospect of very considerable extent, terminated to the left by the lofty Kaatskill Mountains. We dined at Tobias' tavern at

3 Doubtless Henry Izard (1771–1826), oldest brother of Mr. Smith's wife.

4 I have been unable to identify this Mr. Smith.

5 Theodore Sedgwick (1746–1813).

54 Phillips-town<sup>1</sup>, kept by an impudent woman, where we were badly entertained. Thence to Albany the road is good, the country becomes more level as you descend towards the river; we passed through several woods and I observed that the land did not appear so good and was more thinly settled than I should have expected at so short a distance from the river. When within a mile of the river, arriving at the edge of a hill, a most delightful view suddenly presents itself, consisting of the noble river of the Hudson gliding smoothly along and carrying on its surface several vessels, the city of Albany in the midst of a verdant and fertile country, several handsome mansions on the river side, particularly Gen. Schyler's,<sup>2</sup> which makes a noble appearance and is delightfully situated; the sloping hills on each side of the river highly cultivated, and the scattered farms with cattle grazing in the

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meadows, the whole terminated by distant hills and a fine view of the Kaatskill mountains. We crossed the ferry and entered Albany early in the afternoon.

1 Not to be confused with the present Philipstown in Putnam County, opposite West Point. Tobias' Tavern was in the present Nassau, Rensselaer County, which was "taken from Petersburg, Stephentown and Schodack, by the name of Philipstown, 21st March, 1806; name changed 6th April, 1808." T. F. Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, 1836, 644.

2 Philip Schuyler (1733–1804).

Wednesday. Albany is an ugly town when not viewed at a distance. Most of the houses are built in the old Dutch style, with the gable ends to the street; it is said to contain 4,000 inhabitants. There are several modern, handsome brick houses; from the battery there is a fine view of the river and adjacent country. I took a walk to General Schyler's; his house is a large, square brick one, with a flat roof; it stands on a rising ground above the river, and enjoys a commanding view. We rode to the Cahoes falls,<sup>3</sup> ten miles from Albany; the road for six miles runs through a level meadow along the river, which in the time of freshets overflows it and renders it a very rich soil; it belongs to Mr. Stephen Rensselaer,<sup>4</sup> son-in-law of Gen. Schyler; this gentleman is called the Patroon, which is the Dutch name for the Lord of the Manor, and he owns an immense estate on the banks of the North river, and running many miles back into the country. We past by his house at the end of the Town, it is an old-fashioned brick house. We were obliged to pass through several of his gates which shut up the road, for the road is on his land and he cannot keep up fences for his cornfields on account of the freshets. He has 3,200 tenants and his rental is £12,000 per annum, York currency. He makes himself very useful to his neighbors by his acts of benevolence, and is adored by his numerous tenants, he is void either of avarice or

3 Cohoes Falls.

4 Stephen Van Rensselaer (1765–1839), who married Margaret Schuyler.

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55 ambition, the latter is remarkable, as he is a young man of twenty-five.

Nothing can be more pleasant than the ride for six miles, all the way close to the river's edge, and on a smooth, level road, with rich meadows or well-cultivated fields on the other side of the road. On the opposite shore just at the point where we quitted the river, stands Troy, a new and flourishing town at the head of navigation for sloops; it enjoys over Albany the advantage of receiving with more convenience the produce from Vermont and the eastern shore. It is but a few years since the first store was built, and now there axe forty or fifty houses. A few miles above Troy is the New City or Lansingburg, which only has the water for sloops in freshets, but then has the advantage of being higher up in the country. At the point where we left the North river the Mohawk river enters it by several mouths, all of which are visible from the road; coasting up the Mohawk river, a view of which is now and then had through the woods, we proceeded four miles of a bad road till, entering into a woody and rocky spot, we suddenly had a full view of the fall of the Cahoos, which is the fall of the whole Mohawk river over a ledge of rock thirty feet high and 200 yards wide; in some places the fall appears sixty feet, when standing just above it. A considerable spray is occasioned by this prodigious body of water falling with such violence over the rocks, and a tremendous roaring is heard. The scenery around, consisting of hills, woods, and rocks, is romantic, and the beauty and grandeur of the falls, with the pleasantness of the ride, rendered this excursion highly gratifying.

Thursday, September 9. We embarked in the morning on board an Albany sloop for New York, which place, from contrary winds and calm, we did not reach till the Tuesday night following. This tedious detention, however, afforded me ample opportunity of viewing at my leisure the beautiful banks of the Hudson. For some miles the river is shallow and narrow and the country around rather low and level. We came to anchor about eight miles from Albany, and went ashore and dined; I ascended a hill and had a fine view of the river, which here resembled a noble lake. The next day we anchored off Kinderhook landing, where there are a few houses. The river now began to deepen and widen considerably; we next passed by Red-hook, a pretty little landing where there are some good looking

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houses, pleasantly situated; some miles before we reached Red Hook, we passed the home of the Chancellor<sup>1</sup> and that of his mother, situated in the lower manor of Livingston; the old

1 Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813). His mother, Margaret (Beekman) Livingston, lived until July, 1800.

56 lady's house is a handsome stone one, well situated, and makes a good appearance from the river, being placed on a hill in the midst of the woods, which go on quite down to the water's edge. The Chancellor's house is a little back and is not so well seen. We passed by the town of Hudson in the night: this is one of the most thriving places ever known, having been first settled in 1786 and now containing upwards of 200 houses; vessels of any burden can load at the wharves, an advantage it enjoys over Albany, as the navigation from this place to Albany is bad and difficult; Hudson is thirty miles from it.

Sunday morning we made Newborough, New Windsor, and Fishkill landing, small places on the river's side, which add much to the scenery; we now had the Highlands full in view guarded by lofty mountains. I went ashore at Fishkill landing. In the afternoon we approached the Highlands, which assumed an aspect more and more tremendous as we approached them. The two mountains which form the entrance are of great height, and rise out of the river perpendicularly; they are clothed with impenetrable woods to the very summit. As we sailed close under them their appearance was grand and tremendous. The wind being ahead we felt it rushing with amazing violence through the aperture formed by these mountains: and were obliged to work in, which we did with the assistance of the tide. Having entered the Highlands towards the close of the day, the wind blowing hard ahead and the sky covered with black clouds, the gloomy appearance of the high-mountains which encircled us rendered the scene tremendous. We came to anchor just within West Point, that celebrated American fortress, justly styled the American Gibraltar, which the traitor Arnold attempted to betray into the hands of the enemy. It was very interesting to take a survey of this strong place, to behold the spot which Arnold had begun to dismantle (Fort Putnam); the landing where he embarked in his barge; the place where the *Vulture*

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sloop-of-war lay at anchor; the house of my namesake<sup>1</sup> where Arnold and André met; and the place where the latter crossed the river. On Monday morning I arose at break of day to have a view of West Point before we passed it. There was one battery nearly at the water's edge, another on the point which is a considerable height, another on Fort Putnam, a rocky cliff much above the point, and other batteries still higher on several points of land, forming, as it were, different stages of fortification; the opposite point was likewise fortified and a large boom-chain was placed across the river; as the river takes a turn just at this point, no vessel could possibly pass without being torn

<sup>1</sup> Joshua Hett Smith (1736–1818).

57 to pieces by the cannon. The whole scenery about West Point is astonishingly grand and sublime, high mountains seem to stop the passage of the river and give it the appearance of a lake; under some aspects it reminded me of some of the lakes I had seen in Cumberland and Westmoreland. We afterwards saw Fort Montgomery, and a mountain called Anthony's Nose, deemed the highest in the Highlands. These mountains are rocky, but all covered with woods from the water's edge to their summit.

The Highlands continue about fourteen miles. Sailing between two other mountains, but less lofty and tremendous, we quitted the Highlands and came in sight of Peekskill Landing. We anchored close to the western shore, nearly opposite Peekskill. Tuesday morning we entered Tappan Sea, which is the widest part of the river, being in some places five miles across. The wind blowing from the sea raised such a swell as to make some of the passengers very sick. I should have noticed Stony Point, which we passed Monday evening, celebrated by the distinguished manner in which it was taken by Gen. Wayne. Tuesday noon we came to anchor off Closter landing, under a high, steep hill covered with rocks and woods. In the afternoon, when within twenty miles of New York, a fair breeze sprang up and soon carried us home. We passed by Forts Washington and Lee, and landed at the Albany pier at eight o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Here ends the New England trip. As Mr. Smith's movements are sometimes hard to follow, an itinerary will prove useful:

Aug. 15. Su. Leaves New York.

17. Tu. Reaches Newport.

18. W. Newport to Providence.

19. Th. Providence to Manchester's tavern.

20. F. Manchester's tavern to Voluntown, Norwich, Lebanon.

21. Sa. Lebanon to East Hartford and Hartford.

22. Su. Hartford.

23. M. Hartford to Wethersfield, Middletown, and back.

24. Tu. Excursion to mountains west of Hartford.

25. W. Hartford to Windsor and Springfield.

26. Th. Springfield to Westfield, Blandford, Foley's tavern. 27. F. Foley's tavern to Becket, Washington, Pittsfield, New Lebanon.

28. Sa. New Lebanon.

29. Su. New Lebanon. Visits Shakers.

30. M. New Lebanon to Hancock, Williamstown, Bennington.

31. Tu. Bennington to New Lebanon.

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Sept. 1–3 New Lebanon: no entries.

4. Sa. New Lebanon to Richmond, Stockbridge.

5. Su. Stockbridge to New Lebanon.

6. M. New Lebanon: no entry.

7. Tu. New Lebanon to Nassau and Albany.

8. W. Albany to Cohoes Falls and back.

9–14. Th.-Tu. Albany to New York by the Hudson.

58

### II PHILADELPHIA TO CHARLESTON, APRIL–MAY, 1791

April 20.1 —I sat out in the stage for Richmond in Virginia, where I proposed purchasing horses and where I had sent a sulky by sea from Philadelphia. I left Philadelphia in the morning, past through Darby,<sup>2</sup> a small town situated near the Delaware, and through Wilmington in the State of Delaware, a pretty town beautifully situated on Christine creek which runs into the Delaware near the Town<sup>3</sup>. The Town is situated on an eminence with a gradual descent toward the creek and commands a fine and extensive prospect of the surrounding country and the river Delaware; from a considerable distance Wilmington is a fine object, and being situated on a descent, all the houses present themselves to the view. Just before I entered the Town I passed by the Brandywine mills, about thirteen in number. They are conveniently placed on the bank of Christine creek, which is navigable for sloops and has the advantage of loading and unloading the wheat and flour from the vessels into the mills by cranes. They are substantially built of stone, and, being placed contiguous to each other along the banks of the creek have a handsome appearance. Beyond Wilmington is Newport, a small place where we dined. The ride this morning was

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agreeable, having a view of the Delaware nearly the whole way, and being through a well-wooded and well-cultivated and thickly settled country. From Newport we proceeded to a small place called Christine,<sup>4</sup> on the creek of that name and arrived early in the evening at Elktown, a small town on the Elk river which runs into the Chesapeake. It carries on a good trade, being conveniently situated in point of navigation, and is about fifty miles from Philadelphia.

1 This instalment, under the heading "A Hundred Years Ago," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of May 5, 1888, where it is preceded by this statement: "The interesting papers from the diary of William Smith of South Carolina, giving a history of a trip through New England in 1790, are supplemented by the following account from the same source of a trip from Philadelphia to South Carolina in the spring of 1791."

2 Derby, Pa.

3 Christiana Creek.

4 Christiana, Del.

April 21. At three in the morning we proceeded, and arrived at sunrise at Charlestown,<sup>5</sup> a small, mean-looking town, but most delightfully situated on an eminence near the head of the Chesapeake, (of which it has a noble prospect), on a small river called Charles river. Thence through a hilly and romantic country to the river Susquehanna, and breakfasted at the ferry-house at Colonel

5 Charlestown, Md.

<sup>59</sup> Rodgers, father-in-law of Mr. Pinkney, one of the new members in Congress from Maryland.<sup>1</sup> The prospect of the river, the bay into which the Susquehanna opens close by the islands; and the opposite town of Havre is agreeable and picturesque. Vessels of burden must anchor at the mouth of the river; vessels of smaller size can proceed up the river six or nine miles, where the navigation is totally interrupted by rocks, which would

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have rendered the river a very unfit place for the federal seat of Government, as was once intended. Next comes Bush Town<sup>2</sup> or Abingdon, a pretty little town with a hilly country around, and about a mile distant a College called Cokesbury College, situated on a very lofty eminence and built of brick; the building is a handsome one, and is seen from a great distance.<sup>3</sup> Dined between this place and Baltimore, where we arrived about four in the afternoon, distance 102 miles from Philadelphia. Baltimore, the principal city of Maryland, though not its capital, is a large, handsome place, containing a number of good brick houses and inhabited by several thriving and wealthy merchants. It contains several good streets well paved. It is situated on Patapsco River, which empties into the bay. Large vessels cannot approach the Town nearer than Fells' Point, about a mile off, where goods are loaded and unloaded by lighters, a great inconvenience to trade; notwithstanding Baltimore has thriven most astonishing, having been for twenty-five or thirty years a very considerable place, young men remember some of the principal streets to have been fields and ponds when they were boys. The harbour is a very commodious and safe one, being sheltered from the northwest winds by the Town, and from the southeast by a promontory.

1 William Pinkney (1764–1822) married Ann Maria Rodgers, daughter of John Rodgers and sister of Commodore John Rodgers.

2 “Harford, or Bush-town, in Harford county, Maryland, lies at the head of the tide waters of Bush river, between Binam's and James's runs; the former separating it from Abingdon.” J. Morse, *American Gazetteer*, 1797.

3 “Cokesbury College, in the town of Abingdon, is an institution which bids fair to promote the improvement of science, and the cultivation of virtue. It was founded by the Methodists, in 1785, and has its name in honor of Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church.” Morse, *American Gazetteer*, 1797. The Boston Athenæum owns a copy (which formerly belonged to Washington) of *An Address to the Annual Subscribers for the support of Cokesbury-College, and to the Members of the Methodist Society. To which are added, the Rules and Regulations of the College.* By

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Thomas Coke, LL.D. and Francis Asbury, Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New-York: Printed by W, Ross, in Broad-Street. M.DCC.LXXXVII. This is dated "New-York, May 18, 1787;" and the authors say that "our College is under cover, and will, we trust, be opened for the Education of Youth, by next Christmas at farthest" (p. 2).

60

The exports of Baltimore increase rapidly and nearly equal Philadelphia. Probably the prosperity of this Town may be owing to the high duties in Virginia under the old Constitution, which drove the trade of Virginia into Maryland where the duties were low. The exports of Baltimore consist chiefly of wheat and flour. The main street is a mile in length, has a good wooden bridge over the river, and ascends gradually to a fine plain above the Town, which was intended for the seat of Congress had Baltimore been chosen. This land belongs to Colonel, now Governor Howard,<sup>1</sup> who had agreed to present it to Congress. From this eminence is a noble view of the Town, harbour, shipping, etc. The Town house has a singular appearance. It was built on a hill which was since leveled, leaving the building in the air supported by a stone arch. From the brow of the eminence back of the Town house is a grand prospect back of the city, an extensive plain, with distant hills, and the beautiful Seat of Colonel Howard and Mr. Stephenson,<sup>2</sup> with woods, etc. In traveling to Baltimore we passed through the most barren part of the State; now and then a few wheat fields; a good many old fields and deserted plantations; fences in ruins; we past several fine streams on which there are mills and iron works, there being several mines on this road or near it. There were also many new settlements; trees recently cut down and land cleared for planting, with much the appearance of a new country. The price of a passenger from Philadelphia to Baltimore is a guinea. In general the road is very bad, hilly, rough, and cut up; the soil principally clay, as is the soil about Baltimore, which when not paved, was impassable in wet weather.

1 John Eager Howard (1752–1827).

2 Dr. Henry Stevenson.

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April 22. Left Baltimore before four in the morning, past by a pretty little town called Elkridge, crossed the Patapsco river, eight miles from Baltimore in a very convenient ferry-boat with a rope; breakfasted about sixteen miles distant. The country woody, hilly, from time to time a pretty scene of verdant wheat fields, with a farm on the hill; but the country generally poor on this road. Dined at a very pretty town called Bladensburgh, eight miles from Georgetown, situated at the head of eastern branch, by means of which it carries on some trade, as large flats can come up here from Georgetown and Alexandria. The country around is romantic; on the hills above it are some handsome Seats. A pleasant ride to Georgetown, the hills over which you pass commanding fine prospects, one above Bladensburgh, and another within a few miles of Georgetown has a distant view of the Potomac and Alexandria, and a fine and extensive country well wooded. Crossed Rock creek and ascending 61 a steep hill arrived at Georgetown: as soon as you attain the summit of this hill, a magnificent view suddenly opens, Georgetown being placed on a very commanding site. From the Town itself, but more from the adjoining hills, an enchanting prospect presents itself. The Town, shipping, river, distant country variegated with woods, creeks, hills, and vessels under sail, fine eminences, fields cultivated combined into as grand a scene as can be found almost anywhere.

Georgetown is said to have risen to some importance in the commercial world from the same cause as Baltimore, viz., the impolitic revenue laws of Virginia, which carried her produce to Georgetown and sent the imports from Europe, which otherwise would have gone to Alexandria. The navigation is certainly not equal to that of Alexandria, for there are some rocks opposite Georgetown, the channel is narrow and bad, and no vessel can withstand the ice which comes down the Potomac, for which reasons insurance cannot be made on vessels till they have got to Eastern Branch. The situation of Georgetown is likewise inconvenient for trade, the land being very uneven, and full of steep declivities, and hollows, and lofty eminences, which though beautiful to the eye of the traveler, and afford delightful prospects, are certainly ill-calculated for trade. As soon as I arrived at Georgetown, I rode with Major L'Enfant,<sup>1</sup> appointed by the President of the United

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States to make plans, surveys, etc., of the Federal city, to survey the land laid out for that purpose. It covers an area of nearly 6,000 acres, extending from Rock creek near Georgetown, beginning at the mouth of the creek and running down the Potomac to the Eastern Branch four miles, then along the Eastern Branch to a point called Evans Point, and from thence passing near Bladensburgh to a spot on Rock creek about a mile or two from Georgetown. I rode over the greatest part of the ground; the Major pointed out to me all the eminences, plains, commanding spots, projects of canals by means of Rock creek, Eastern Branch, and a fine creek called Goose creek, which intersects the plan of the city along the Eastern Branch, quays,

1 For a sketch of Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), see Jusserand, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*, 139–195. The following item, dated Georgetown, April 2, was printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of April 23, 1791: “Previous to the departure of the President from this town, we hear, that he instructed Lieutenant Colonel L'Enfant, a native of France, who served with distinguished reputation in the American corps of Engineers in the late war; and whose tastes and talents are universally admired, to plan and lay out the Federal City.” Another item was printed in the same paper of May 7, 1791: “Alexandria, April 21. On Friday the 15th inst. the Hon. Daniel Carrol, and Dr. David Stewart, arrived in this town, to superintend the fixing of the first *Corner-Stone* of the Federal District.”

62 bridges, etc., magnificent public walks, and other projects, but he never once mentioned a convenient spot for a church, and what is more surprising I never once thought of asking him where he proposed placing them.

The ground pleased me much; the Major is enraptured with it; “nothing,” he says, “can be more admirably adapted for the purpose; nature has done much for it, and with the aid of art it will become the wonder of the world.” I proposed calling this new Seat of Empire, Washingtonople.<sup>1</sup> The eastern branch affords a noble harbour, having twenty-seven feet of water and being perfectly safe; the country along its banks is beautiful, and the view of the Eastern Branch, with the Potomac and the view of Alexandria, which is distinctly seen nearly opposite, with the prospect behind of woods, farms, etc., is extremely

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grand and romantic. In short, I was delighted with my ride, and returned to my tavern in the dusk of the evening well satisfied that the place selected unites more advantages for the place intended than any spot I have seen in America. The speculations of land in this neighborhood have been great since the President has fixed on the spot; land in the neighborhood which before sold for five or seven pounds an acre, has been sold for thirty and forty pounds. The Major showed me all his plans and surveys, and so did Mr. Ellicott<sup>2</sup> who is appointed to take the heights, distances, etc.; they are to be all ready for the President on his return from his tour.<sup>3</sup>

1 The Commissioners “notified L'Enfant, on the 9th of September, 1791, that a name had been selected for the district and the city: ‘We have agreed that the federal district shall be called “the Territory of Columbia,” and the federal city “the City of Washington.” The title of the map will therefore be “A map of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia”” (Jusserand, *With Americans*, 177). The name Columbia, as a heading for news about Congress, was in popular use much earlier. Thus the heading of a column devoted to the proceedings of Congress in the *Boston Gazette* of April 26, 1790, was “Congress” (p. 3/1;), but in the same paper of May 3, 1790, the heading was “Columbia” (p. #). About that time it was suggested that the name of our country should be changed from the United States of America to the United States of Columbia: see the *New York Nation*, March 9, 1916, 282.

2 Andrew Ellicott (1754–1820).

3 On March 11, 1791, Washington left Philadelphia on a tour to the South, and reached Mount Vernon on June 12: see his *Diary* (Lossing, 1860), 154–202.

April 23d. Crossed the Potomac and went to Alexandria. A noble view of Georgetown from the heights on the Virginia side, and many pleasing views as you proceed to Alexandria, of Georgetown and the opposite shore, the Goose creek, Eastern Branch, etc. The road being chiefly through woods, you have only now and then a view of the river and opposite

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coast. Alexandria is a considerable place of trade, is well situated on the river which is three-fourths of a mile wide. It suffered, as before mentioned, under the old constitution, but is now thriving rapidly; the situation of the Town, a capital one, a fine eminence, plain level, and bounded by a pretty range of hills an excellent, safe, and commodious harbour, a fine back country to it, will soon make it a very important post; much business is done here; there are about 3,200 inhabitants; the houses principally of brick; the streets are not paved and being of clay after rain they are so slippery it is almost impossible to walk in them. I went to the top of Colonel Howe's house, a very lofty one, the prospect a magnificent one. The Town laid out at right angles, the harbour, river to great distance, with its windings, creeks, and islands, the extensive plain contiguous to the city, all formed a fine scene. Dined at Alexandria. With the aid of a borrowed horse and sulky, and a hack for my man, went to Mount Vernon, the celebrated Seat of General Washington, where I now write this journal. Distance from Alexandria ten miles, road very hilly, but in general very good, I followed the Colchester road till I crossed Hunting creek, which is the southern boundary of the ten mile square, then took the left road and ascended a very high, steep hill, from which is a fine view of the creek, river, and Alexandria. The road mostly through fine woods, and little of the river is seen; and much like the road from Middletown place on Ashley river down to the ferry.

The house at Mount Vernon is most magnificently situated; I hardly remember to have been so struck with a prospect. It stands on a small plain near the river, which is 200 feet below; the view extends up and down the river a considerable distance, the river is about two miles wide, and the opposite shore is beautiful, as is the country along the river; there is a verdant lawn between the house and the river, and a rapid descent, wooded, down to the river. From the grand portico which fronts the river, the assemblage of objects is grand beyond description, embracing the magnificence of the river with the vessels sailing about; the verdant fields, woods, and parks. The mansion is large and commodious, the portico 96 feet long and lofty; the grand salon 32 × 28 and very high ceiling, handsomely ornamented with a representation of implements of husbandry. The chimney piece is of

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marble, richly wrought, and represents rustic scenes, the hearth inlaid. The stable for forty horses; two pretty gardens, separated by a gravel serpentine walk, edged with willows and other trees; a circular lawn back of the house; the grounds well-cultivated and improved. There is a jackass upwards of fifteen hands high, sent by the King of Spain;<sup>1</sup> another

<sup>1</sup> See Washington's *Writings* (Ford), X. 479; XI. 29, 342.

64 from Malta upwards of fourteen, fine animals both. The estate extends down the river about three miles, and up the river about six, and is about three or four miles back from the river, containing from 9,000 to 10,000 acres, one-half under cultivation, the remainder woods. A great fishery of herrings is carried on, and it is sold to the country people, who salt it for provisions. Upwards of 100,000 bricks are made here annually; the fence of the estate where the mansion is runs nine miles. The General has lately sold his transmountainous lands, 130,000 acres for 65,000 crowns. He has besides other estates tenanted in Loudon and other counties; he owns 300 slaves, about 150 or 160 workers; no negro houses are seen near the mansion; they are all at a distance and not visible from the house.

I caught a rock fish while I was here, four feet long and sixty-four pounds weight; they have caught them weighing sixty-nine. From the portico is a view on the same side of the river of Colonel Fairfax's Seat;<sup>1</sup> the house was burnt some years ago, but the woods about the ruins have a romantic appearance. Sunday I remained at Mount Vernon and left on Monday, and proceeded to the Seat of Colonel Mason,<sup>2</sup> about thirteen miles on the Potomac; the ride a pleasant one, a hilly country, well-wooded and romantic. Colonel George Mason is a gentleman of considerable eminence in the political line in this state. I arrived at his house about dinner time, and staid with him until the next morning. The house is rather an ancient brick building, with a neat garden, at the end of which is a high natural terrace which commands the Potomac; the ground about is rough and unimproved. On Tuesday I got to Colchester, to breakfast. This little place is seated on a river, and seems to be in a declining condition. Dined at Stafford Court House. Passed through Dumfries before dinner, a small town which has some trade, though said to be on the

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decline, owing to the want of navigation, as the little river on which it is placed is filling up. Passed through Falmouth, a little town on the Rappahannock, beautifully situated on a hill, which has a fine prospect of the river and the Town of Fredericksburgh on the opposite bank. Crossed the river and arrived at Fredericksburgh, a pretty town, consisting of one long street, containing several good houses. This place is at the head of navigation, and appears to be thriving and carrying on a large business; there are a great many stores in it, and the houses are generally neat and in good repair; it contains upwards of 300.

1 Belvoir, formerly the seat of George William Fairfax.

2 George Mason (1725–1792). For Gunston Hall, see Edith T. Sale, *Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times*, 92–103; Kate M. Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, I. 57, 72, 98–110.

The road to-day extremely woody, and hilly, and fatiguing. The 65 country well settled, wheat country principally. On Wednesday breakfasted at Bowling Green. At this place is a neat looking College.<sup>1</sup> Passed this day the Mattapony and Pamunkey rivers, which form below York river. Dined at a place called the Merry Oaks; I arrived early in the afternoon, at Richmond, the metropolis of Virginia. The road this day level and fine; the country well settled, a great deal of wood and many wheat fields. Tobacco is declining fast and the culture of wheat succeeding to it. Richmond is situated partly on a high eminence and partly on the banks of the James river, which is navigable for sloops within a mile to Rocket's landing; above that the river is full of rocks and shoals, but a company has associated for purposes of navigation by cutting a canal along the river. Ninety negroes are constantly employed, with four overseers and a head manager. The canal is brought already within two miles of the Town, and when finished will open a valuable communication with the entire country. I rode as far as the spot to which the canal ends. The ride along the river is extremely beautiful and romantic; the road winds on the brow of a hill over the river and commands a fine view of the Town, the river, the little town of Manchester, on the opposite side, and woods scattered about. The roaring of the water over the rocks and the noise of the workmen working below, with the explosion made in

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blowing the rocks up, render the scene curious and pleasing. On my return I was struck with the grandeur of the scenery; the different views of Richmond, with its immense Capitol, towering above the Town on a lofty eminence, with its antique appearance, arrested my attention.<sup>2</sup> They are extremely fine and picturesque and well worthy the traveler's notice. The Town contains about 300 houses, some of them excellent brick and well built. It carries a great deal of business and will be a flourishing place when the navigation with the county is entirely opened, which will be in two or three years.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William G. Stanard of Richmond kindly informs me that this was perhaps Concord Academy.

<sup>2</sup> A good view of Richmond was printed on Bishop James Madison's Map of Virginia, published in 1807.

The Capitol, built on the model of the Temple of Nîsmes, is an immense pile of brick work, seated on the edge of a lofty hill, which overlooks the whole Town, river, and adjoining country. From the extensiveness of the undertaking it has for some years remained incomplete for want of funds; it has already cost £30,000, and will require 12, or 15,000 more to finish it. Its unfinished state gives it a heavy, singular appearance, but when complete it will be a magnificent building. The model, made at Paris in plaster of Paris (by order of Mr. Jefferson, who was directed by the State of Virginia <sup>66</sup> to obtain a model of the Temple of Niismes), is a very beautiful and elegant thing. It is kept at the Governor's,<sup>1</sup> who is a good-tempered, genteel man. He was very polite to me and invited me to dine with him. He is a plain looking man and lives in a plain house. The Capitol contains a number of apartments allotted for the different public offices; they are mostly on the ground floor, which is arched with brick and secure from fire. In front of the building is a grand portico, the height of the building and supported by large pillars. The loftiness of this building, and its eminent situation render it a very striking object, and it is the first thing which strikes the traveler. The principal tavern is a large, handsome building.

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1 Beverly Randolph (1755–1797).

April 29th.<sup>2</sup> Quitted Richmond in my sulky which I had sent around by sea from Philadelphia, having bought a pair of horses. Crossed James River on a long wooden bridge, or rather two bridges, the island separating the bridge into two parts; the river here is almost a bed of rocks, with a rapid current. Manchester, a small town, is just opposite Richmond on the river; it is a long straggling place and carries on some business; it has a handsome view of Richmond and the Capitol, which continues to attract attention and excite admiration as you recede from it; the farther distant, the more you are struck by its grandeur and by its antique appearance, resembling at a distance a Roman structure amidst rocks and woods. The road at this season is very fine, and this is a thickly settled country. I met a great number of wagons carrying down tobacco, and a number of hogsheads rolling down to Manchester inspection. At Hopkins,<sup>3</sup> twenty miles from Richmond, on the road to Janet's bridge, I met very good fare, a neat, clean house, and a very civil landlord. Here I dined, and proceeded on to Janet's bridge,<sup>4</sup> a wooden bridge over the Appomattox, which afterwards passes by Petersburg; the river above and below the bridge offers a romantic scene, flowing smoothly between high, verdant, and woody banks. This afternoon saw several plantations, the country being much cultivated and affording several pleasant views of wheat fields, meadows, and woods. The road was excellent, hard clay principally, and quite dry, passing either through handsome woods or along plantations. Four miles from Janet's bridge the road forks; the right

2 This instalment, under the heading "One Hundred Years Ago," was printed in the *New York Evening Post* of June 2, 1888.

3 Hopkins, though apparently not in modern gazetteers, is one of the few places given on Bishop Madison's Map of Virginia, 1807. It is (or was) in Powhatan County. Mr. Stanard thinks that "the name Hopkins has probably disappeared."

4 Mr. Stanard tells me that this was Janitoe's Bridge, in Amelia County.

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67 takes you to Chinkapin church;<sup>1</sup> the left by Colonel Mead's plantation, to his mill, etc. I took the latter meaning to put up at the Colonel's, being recommended to it by my landlord. Soon after I passed the fork I was assailed by a violent shower, which fortunately was of short duration. I then turned from the road, and riding nearly two miles through the plantation arrived at dusk at the Colonel's, who gave me a kind reception. He has a very large plantation. I found him bitterly opposed to the excise, and attempted to reason his objections; we discussed the matter upwards of an hour, but I fear I met with little success; his objections were groundless.

1 Chinquapin Church, built about 1749, at a place since called Paineville.

Saturday, April 30. Colonel Meade<sup>2</sup> conducted me through a by-road into the main road which leads to Chinkapin church. Some parts of the road this morning were bad, and from the appearance of the road I imagine that it must be impassable in winter. I had the advantage in traveling at this season of the year of having the roads good, roads which are dreadful in winter being now firm and level. I dined at rather an ordinary tavern at Chinkapin church; here I met several respectable citizens of the neighborhood, after a great deal of conversation on public topics, in the course of which they spoke their minds freely, I withdrew to dress, and on my return the most respectable of them, who was a Colonel Morton<sup>3</sup> and one of the County Court Judges said: "We suppose, sir, from your acquaintance with the proceedings of Congress, that you probably are a member of that body." I replied that I was. "From what State," "South Carolina." "Mr.—, I suppose." "Yes, sir." "I have heard a great deal of you, sir: had we known who you were, we should have spoken with more reserve about Congress;" (they had said nothing offensive). I told them that it was on that account I had not discovered who I was, in order to hear their opinions about Government with freedom, that I wished to have the sentiments of the people respecting the proceeding of Congress, as our object was only to promote their welfare and obtain their approbation.

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2 Mr. Stanard thinks that this was Everard Meade ( *d.* 1808), a brother of Richard Kidder Meade (1746–1805) and uncle of Bishop William Meade.

3 Mr. Stanard thinks that this was John Morton.

I then inquired whether the State certificates of Virginia were raised in value since the assumption, and was informed they were doubled; whether the Excise was so odious in this State as had been represented; Colonel Morton said that after all stills had been made liable to pay a duty, he was satisfied with it, but that he should have much disapproved of an exemption of domestic stills. I informed him that Colonel Meade's principal objection had been to the subjecting 68 domestic stills to the duty; all the company thought that they should be subject to it, as well as those distilling liquors for sale. After some further conversation Colonel Meade<sup>1</sup> asked whether it was true that the lands of individuals within the ten miles square were to be at the disposal of Congress, I assured him not, and acquainted him with the meaning of the Constitution as generally explained. When the horses were ready, my head was so full of politics that I ascended my sulky, took leave of the company, and drove off. I had proceeded nearly a mile before I recollected that I had come off without paying for my dinner. I stopt, called Ben, and was relieved to find he had done what I should have done. The road was now pleasant and fine for several miles, hard and level, and romantic woods. Six miles from Chinkapin church there is a fork; the right leads through Prince Edward County to Prince Edward court house; the left through Amelia to Moore's Ordinary;<sup>2</sup> the distances nearly the same by both roads, but I was advised to take the latter, being more level; the former approaches the Appomattox and crossing several creeks is broken ground and hilly. Within six or eight miles of Prince Edward court house lives the celebrated Patrick Henry,<sup>3</sup> who is now making a great deal of money by large fees of £50 or £100 for clearing horse thieves and murderers, which has lost him much of the great reputation he enjoyed in his neighborhood; he has been left out of the Assembly at the last election; some say because he insisted on not being elected, others that his conduct has given general disgust. I am told that he will travel

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hundreds of miles for a handsome fee to plead for criminals, and that his powers of oratory are so great he generally succeeds, insomuch, that a man in his neighborhood has been heard to say he should have no apprehension of being detected in horse stealing, for that Governor Henry, or Colonel Henry as he is sometimes called, would for £50 clear him. The road forks at one doctor's; taking the left I proceeded along a very high ridge, from which a great extent of country is seen on both sides, forests rising above forests, with intermediate spots of well-cultivated country. From the description I have had, this part of the country must considerably resemble the back part of South Carolina. This country when thickly settled, will be equal in beauty of prospect and richness of scenery to Great Britain. This is evident from some

1 Doubtless an error for "Colonel Morton."

2 "The next road that passes through the county from the east, is by Moor's old ordinary in Prince Edward." J. Martin, *Comprehensive Description of Virginia*, 1834, 149.

3 Henry moved to Prince Edward County in 1786 or 1787: see W. W. Henry, *Patrick Henry*, II. 305, 311.

69 spots, which, being well cleared and cultivated, and possessing a happy combination of woods, meadows, wheat fields, and hills gently swelling, present a romantic prospect. One of these spots struck me soon after leaving Janet's Bridge, when ascending a hill, and, looking back, I saw the scene just described.

These parts of Virginia through which I have just traveled, viz.: the counties of Powhatan, Prince Edward, Amelia, and Charlotte are generally thickly settled; the inhabitants I have met with are polite and kind to strangers. I found a sufficiency of fodder for my horses; my own fare consisted generally of bacon, eggs, salad, corn bread, tolerable rum, good cool water, sometimes a chicken, but not often; the bills reasonable. There are some peculiarities in this people; they are fond of showing respect to strangers, by bedecking them with the title of Colonel:1 this happened to me more than once, and I could scarce

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keel) my countenance at hearing this when I have so little of a martial appearance and such small pretension to the title. They pronounce the words “there” and “stairs” different from any of the inhabitants of the other States, calling the one “stars,” and saying “thar.” Gaining a livelihood so easily, having abundance of land, and a tolerably fertile soil, cultivated in many parts altogether by the negroes, they have a great deal of leisure on their hands, which they spend in piazzas at taverns on the road, where a great number will collect and pass whole mornings in conversing about their geldings and “mars,” and relating anecdotes about their neighborhood and their own adventures. Land being abundant and living plenty, no people in the world can surpass these in good living and ease; with their blessings and a mild government they ought to be happy, if it be the lot of any people to be so. The dwellings of gentlemen of property being generally remote from cities and mechanics, are generally most out of order; if a pane of glass be broken, or some of the paper loose, or the wall peeled off, or the lock of a door deranged, they will continue so for years, for there is no remedy at hand. In this respect their houses are not comfortable. You will therefore put up at a house perfectly unfurnished and uncomfortable, the owner of which drives his carriage and four.

1 “There is not a country under heaven,” wrote John Adams in 1807, “in which titles and precedency are more eagerly coveted than in this country:” see G. L. Kittredge, *Old Farmer and his Almanack*, 234.

I passed this afternoon several small taverns, and traveled an hour after dark to reach Billy George's because it was recommended as the best, but I found it bad enough; there was neither rum nor sugar; he borrowed some rum from a neighbor, but I lost my tea. 70 The bugs made a heartier supper on me than I did on my bacon and eggs; I was glad, however, to find that my horse fared better than I did, and before six the next morning I proceeded on my journey. On Sunday I passed by Moore's Ordinance,<sup>1</sup> now kept by one Boucker, and crossing Little Roanoke River on the bridge of that name, arrived at breakfast at ten o'clock at Captain Timberly's tavern at Charlotte court house. This being my wedding day, I was struck with the co-incidence of names.<sup>2</sup> Entering Charlotte county,

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I remarked that a great part of this road I traveled from Richmond is very badly watered, scarce having seen above two or three streams of water the whole way; the road, I fancy, runs along a high and dry ridge. After dinner, proceeded to Cole's Ferry. The first part of the road is very hilly, some of the hills steep; from the summits are several fine prospects of broken ground and well cultivated country; passed several fine streams, all along are settlements. After traveling three or four miles the road is hard and level for some distance through pleasant woods, and then it becomes again extremely hilly. Crossed Cubb Creek<sup>3</sup> over a bridge, after which ascending a hill had a beautiful view on the east side and behind of the most verdant wheat fields on the sides of fine undulating hills intermixed with woods; then descending a steep hill, approached Staunton river and passed through a low ground cleared, which appears very fine land, being sometimes overflowed by the river, which though at present not above 150 yards wide is at times nearly a mile wide, rising forty feet and spreading over all the low grounds in its vicinity. I crossed the ferry; some countrymen forded it at the same time, for though the river is wide and the water deep and rapid, the fording is reckoned safe, as the exact depth can be easily ascertained and the bottom is fine and level. There is a fall of the river just at the ferry, which occasions a great rapidity in the current.

1 Mr. Smith doubtless wrote "Ordinary."

2 On May 1, 1786, Mr. Smith married Charlotte Izard: see p. 28, *supra*.

3 Cub Creek, Charlotte County, Va.

At the moment that I crossed the ferry came on a thunder-storm, which, with the fierce redness of the sky just over my head, the rapidity of the current, and the violence of the wind, excited some apprehensions, as I had never before crossed the ferry with my horses. The rain pursued me, and poured in torrents, I, however, pushed on to Colonel Cole's; he is a man of genteel fortune, and has a pretty considerable plantation here, with other estates. Here I tarried the forenoon, and after dinner proceeded on towards Dan

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river to cross it at Dix's Ferry. The road good for about ten miles; 71 it is then very hilly. I put up this night at one Pridie's, a sorry tavern; I had for company an idiot, the landlord's brother, who was himself but one remove from it, and I was waited on by an ugly broken backed old negro woman. My fare was indifferent, and as I was kept awake a great part of the night by bugs and fleas, and the united groaning and grunting of the hogs under the window, and my man Ben in the chamber with me; all this agreeable music was enlivened by perpetual peals of thunder and the rattling of heavy rain on the shingles over my head, which continued nearly the whole night, and began just as I entered the tavern. The heavy rain of the night had so cooled the air that I traveled the whole of the next day in my cloak. A mile or two from Pridie's I came to Banister river, which I crossed over a bridge; the river and banks pleasant and shady. The country well settled along this road. Breakfasted at Halifax Old Town; or Old Town, as it is called: it has no other pretension to the name than by containing two or three old houses, inhabited by some wretched old women: I, however, got a decent breakfast and went on.

A few miles from the old town the road forks; the right goes to Allen's ford; the left carried me towards Dix's ferry. The road from Pridie's to the old town pretty good; from thence to one Wisdom's, about fourteen miles, the road continues tolerably good, but from his house to Billy Dix's, eight miles, is an abominable road, consisting of stumps, roots, stones, gullies, steep hills, and everything which can compose an execrable road: thence three miles further to the ferry the road is good; the country all this way well settled. A little above Billy Dix's is a road which goes from Dix's ferry to Petersburg. The tavern where I lay that night is kept by Colonel Dix. A sick, cross child made a terrible noise from the time I entered the house till bedtime, and then its mother, who was suddenly seized with a violent fit of the colic, commenced the most dreadful howling, screaming and groaning I ever heard, and as my chamber was only separated by a thin partition, I was kept awake by her music the greatest part of the night. After supper I had a long debate with the landlord upon the excise, to which he was not a little opposed.

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Wednesday, 4th of May. Descending a steep hill I came to the ferry over Dan river, near the tavern. The river is nearly as wide as Staunton and is fordable; the banks wooded and pleasant; it is less rapid than Staunton. Ascending a very steep hill on the other side I entered the State of North Carolina. The road is there good. Stopt and breakfasted at Grant's store, twelve miles, where I got a very good breakfast and where a tavern is kept. About a mile 72 further is a fork; the left goes on by Stublefield's tavern to Guilford Court House; the right, which I took, goes likewise to Guilford, by the iron works, and is reckoned a better road; it goes likewise to Salem. Arrived at the iron works about three o'clock. My landlord, Jones, superintends them. After dinner he conducted me over them. They are situated at the head of a creek called "Great Troublesome," in a hollow surrounded by high hills covered with wood. The first appearance of the buildings, large reservoir of water, creek, and the people at work, with the noise of the machinery of the mills and the rapid currents which work them, have a pleasing and singular appearance just as you ascend the hill which overlooks them, after traveling a number of miles through the woods. The ore is none of the best, and the furnace is not yet in order; they make less iron here than there is a demand for. The spot is reckoned very unhealthy, on account of the large reservoir and the creek, which is wide and stagnant. During the night came on a violent rain accompanied by loud and continued peals of thunder, some of the severest I ever heard. I imagine the vicinity of the mines must have had some influence on the lightning; the common ore is got close by, and the rock ore at about four miles distance; my conductor supposes there is silver in the ore.

Thursday, May 5. About two miles from the iron works the road again forks; the left leads to Guilford Court House, the right to Salem. Leaving the iron works, I ascended a high hill; the road for seventeen or eighteen miles towards Salem is very disagreeable—a soft clay badly cut up by the wagons, numberless stumps, some steep hills, the ascent obstructed by large stones. After passing a mill the road becomes very good, and continues so to Dobson's, about twenty-six miles from the iron works. There is no tavern in the whole of this distance, and the road a very long and fatiguing one, which took me six hours, so

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that I did not get my breakfast till after twelve. The country from Dix's ferry is well settled, many new plantations. The people, however, do not look so well as those more northerly, nor so much at their ease. The soil on the high land, indifferent, but good near the water courses. Country woody, now and then an opening, with a plantation of good-looking wheat, and sometimes from the summits of the hills, over which the road passes, is seen a great extent of woody country rising in waves one above the other, with a little clearing here and there. I got a very good breakfast at Dobson's; he has a very decent house; his wife, who sat down to breakfast with me, is a huge fat woman of about eighty, whom he calls "Honey." The road continues good, with a few interruptions of steep and broken hills to 73 Salem.<sup>1</sup> After traveling through woods for many days, the sight of this little settlement of Moravians is highly curious and interesting. Between 200 and 300 persons of this sect here assembled live in brotherly love and set a laudable example of industry, unfortunately too little observed and followed in this part of the country. Every man follows some occupation; every woman is engaged in some feminine work; a tanner, shoemaker, potter, saddler, tinner, brewer, distiller, etc., is here seen at work; from their labors they not only supply themselves but the country all around them. The first view of the town is romantic, just as it breaks upon you through the woods; it is pleasantly seated on a rising ground, and is surrounded by beautiful meadows, well-cultivated fields, and shady woods.

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Rec. North Carolina*, v. 1156, *et seq.*

The antique appearance of the houses, built in the German style, and the trees among which they are placed have a singular and pleasing effect; the whole resembles a beautiful village, and forms a pastoral scene. On my arrival I waited on a Mr. Bagge, one of the brethren and a respectable old gentleman, who keeps a store here. Having introduced myself to him, he very politely conducted me to the single men's house, and to all the different trades. I found every one hard at work; such a scene of industry, perhaps, exists nowhere in so small a place. The brewery and distillery are considerable; the beer is very good, and a cordial made out of the whiskey excellent. Water brought from the adjacent rivulets is collected in large pipes and conveyed to all the houses: at the tanner's

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a very small quantity falling from no great height turns a large wheel and works the pestles with which the bark is broken. Every house has its garden. Their discipline and customs resemble generally those of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. There are two settlements or towns near Salem, but they are sickly. The settlement in this State covers about 90,000 acres: Salem covers 2,000. There are in all 1,500 souls; 260 at Salem, 200 at the two other settlements, and the residue scattered in different farms. The church yard is on a hill above the town, surrounded by shady groves: the graves are all distinct, laid out in apartments, a small square stone on each only mentions the name, the place they come from, and the age and day of death. It is surprising to find what a medley of nations lie here interred; it is also astonishing to find the small number of deaths, since their first settlement in Salem, which was in 1772, there are only buried here ten boys, twelve girls, fourteen single men, only one single woman, thirteen married women, nine married men, and one negro, total sixty, which in the space of twenty years is only three per annum, a surprising proof of the good effects of industry, sobriety, temperance, 74 and a good situation. Between eight and nine o'clock I attended their evening service, which consisted only of singing, accompanied by an organ. I was much pleased with the music, which was good, and with the very orderly and decent appearance of the audience.

Friday, May 6. Very much pleased with Salem, and recruited by the best bed since I left home, I proceeded to Saulsbury by a most excellent road and crossed the Yadkin at Long's ferry. Less fatigued than by any day's journey I had traveled. I arrived at Saulsbury<sup>1</sup> to dinner, after which Mr. Steele attended me to the County Court which was sitting, and then shewed me the town, which consists of about forty or fifty straggling houses in an open pretty plain; it looks like a poor place and has but little business. The Court House is not half finished: the town contains about 300 inhabitants among them a great number of children. The weather this day uncommonly cool and the evening very cool. Mr. Steele informed me that people could sleep under a blanket almost the whole summer; there was a white frost this night. On Saturday I rose with the sun and found the weather extremely cold, and traveled twenty miles to breakfast, the road excellent.

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From Phifer's the road which was wide all the way from Saulsbury narrows and forks; the left goes to Camden by the Rocky river, it is most frequented by the wagons, but is so little settled that there is scarce a house to be seen for forty miles; the right hand through Charlotte, though farther about, and perhaps a worn road being well settled is most preferable. For twelve or fourteen miles the road is very disagreeable, being hilly, and broken by. deep gullies, and passes through several creeks, which in wet weather must be extremely bad. About the creeks the land is good, and I saw this day several beautiful wheat and rye fields. From the summits of some of the high ridges over which I passed, a great extent of country is seen.

1 Salisbury, N. C.

The last eight or ten miles to Charlotte, with a few interruptions of steep hills and a good many roots across the road, is a fine, hard, level red clay through beautiful woods. Near Charlotte are some finely cultivated fields. This place does not deserve the name of a town, it consists only of a wretched Court House, and a few dwellings falling to decay. There is a good tavern kept by Mason, where, however, I paid the dearest bill on the road. On Sunday I rode eight or nine miles on a good road, then there is a good deal of bad road to Major Barklay's; some part is abominable, a succession of steep hills, full of deep gullies and large rocks, intermixed with roots stumps and ruts: passed this day several creeks, Twelve Mile Creek, 75 Waxam Creek, etc. The first is the boundary between the two states, but there is a slip of South Carolina runs northward a considerable distance above it. On the road some good looking plantations, and several fine hills well cultivated. Slept at Barclay's, an indifferent house. The road is now good all the way to Camden, generally level and sandy, a few hills, but not bad: the country about here well known in the history of the war, particularly for the actions of Hanging Rock and Camden: I passed over the spot where both were fought. The road passed over some curious flat rocks of great extent: the land about here, pine barrens and some parts of the road heavy. About nine miles from Camden I saw the traces of the famous battle of Camden, and the marks of balls against the trees. Slept at Camden, a pretty town of about seventy houses and

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some very good dwellings. On Tuesday breakfasted at Statesburgh,<sup>1</sup> on the high bills of Santee, a delightful situation, commanding a prodigious extent of country. Slept at Simpson's. On Wednesday breakfasted at Eutaw's, slept at Jackson's. Thursday dined at P. Smith's, lay at the "Elms."<sup>2</sup> Friday morning started on the last stage of my journey, reached home in the afternoon.<sup>3</sup>

1 Stateburg, S. C.

2 Ralph Izard's estate. In a letter to Jefferson dated "The Elms, South Carolina," April 27, 1784, Izard said, "I am settled upon an agreeable spot, about 18 miles from Charles Town. A plantation long neglected, but pleasantly situated and capable of great improvement. This I am attempting; and my inclination would lead me never to enter again into public life." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II. 195.

3 An itinerary of this trip follows:

April 20. W. Philadelphia to Derby, Wilmington, Newport, Christiana, Elkton.

21. Th. Elkton to Charlestown, Harford (Bush Town), Abingdon, Baltimore.

22. F. Baltimore to Elkrklge, Bladensburg, Georgetown, Federal City.

23. Sa. Georgetown to Alexandria and Mount Vernon.

24. Su. Mount Vernon.

25. M. Mount Vernon to Gunston Hall.

26. Tu. Gunston Hall to Colchester, Dumfries, Stafford Court House, Falmouth, Fredericksburg.

27. W. Fredericksburg to Bowling Green, Merry Oaks, Richmond.

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28. Th. Richmond: no entry.

29. F. Richmond to Manchester, Hopkins, Col. Meade's.

30. Sa. Col. Meade's to Chinkapin Church, Billy George's tavern.

May 1. Su. Billy George's tavern to Moore's ordinary, Charlotte Court House, Cole's Ferry.

2. M. Cole's Ferry to Pridie's.

3. Tu. Pridie's to Halifax Old Town, Col. Dix's.

4. W. Col. Dix's to Jones's at iron works.

5. Th. Jones's at iron works to Salem.

6. F. Salem to Salisbury.

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### **BIBLIOGRAPHY.**

This bibliography is based on the pamphlets owned by the following four libraries: Boston Athenaeum, Boston Public Library, Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society. Two of the pamphlets here listed—Nos. 5 and 18—are not in those libraries, and their titles have been obtained from other sources. The authorship of three pamphlets—Nos. 9, 13, and 14—is uncertain, but they are included for convenience. Chronological and alphabetical lists of the pamphlets follow, after which the pamphlets will be discussed chronologically.

1 1792 Politicks and Views.

2 1794 Jan. Speeches, Philadelphia.

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- 3 1794 Jan. Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
- 4 1794 Jan. Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.
- 5 1794 Jan. Speeches, London reprint of No. 2.
- 6 1794 May 1. Address, Philadelphia.
- 7 1794 May 1. Address, London reprint of No. 6.
- 8 1794 Dec. Speech.
- 9 1795 Candid Examination, New York.
- 10 1796 July 4. Oration, Charleston.
- 11 1796 July 4. Oration, second edition, Charleston.
- 12 1796 Oct. 2. Comparative View, Philadelphia.
- 13 1796 Oct. Pretensions, Part First.
- 14 1796 Nov. Pretensions, Part Second.
- 15 1797 Phocion's Examination. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.
- 16 1806 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston.
- 17 1806 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16.
- 18 1815 Speech, Philadelphia, reprint of No. 2.
- 19 1832 Comparative View, Washington, reprint of No. 12.

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6 Address, Philadelphia, 1794.

7 Address, London reprint of No. 6, 1794.

17 American Arguments, London reprint of No. 16, 1806.

9 Candid Examination, New York, 1795.

12 Comparative View, Philadelphia, 1796.

19 Comparative View, Washington reprint of No. 12, 1832.

3 Friendship with Great Britain, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2.

16 Numbers of Phocion, Charleston, 1806.

10 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston.

May 7. Sa. Salisbury to Charlotte.

8. Su. Charlotte to Barclay's.

9. M. Barclay's to Camden.

10. Tu. Camden to Stateburg, Simpson's.

11. W. Simpson's to Eutaw's, Jackson's.

12. Th. Jackson's to P. Smith's, the Elms.

13. F. The Elms to Charleston.

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11 Oration, July 4, 1796, Charleston, second edition.

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15 Phocion's Examination, 1797. Reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.

1 Politicks and Views.

13 Pretensions, Part First, October, 1796.

14 Pretensions, Part Second, November, 1796.

18 Speech, Philadelphia, 1815, reprint of No. 2.

8 Speech, December, 1794.

2 Speeches, Philadelphia, 1794.

4 Speeches, Edinburgh reprint of No. 2, 1794.

5 Speeches, London reprint of No. 2, 1794.

1

The / Politicks / And Views / Of a Certain Parrrty, / Displayed. / Printed in the Year  
M,DCC,XCII.

Title, 1 p.; Text, pp. 2–36.

The Boston Athenæum has five copies, one with “G° Washington” in ink on the title-page; another with “D. Cobbs” in ink on the title-page; another with “Cabot” in ink on the title-page and also in ink the words “said to be written by William Smith of South Carolina,” either in the hand of George Cabot (with which I am not familiar) or in that of Josiah Quincy, to whom the volume containing the pamphlet once belonged. In 1877 and again in 1885 Sabin attributed the pamphlet to Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> “The authorship of this pamphlet,” wrote P. L. Ford in 1886, “has been referred to Hamilton. It is probably by William L. Smith.”<sup>2</sup> “Its authorship,” wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, “has been generally attributed

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to Hamilton, although Ford thinks it was probably written by William L. Smith.”<sup>3</sup> “This has been sometimes attributed to Alexander Hamilton,” wrote Evans in 1914, “but there seems to be good reason for ascribing the authorship to William Loughton Smith, who shared his political views.”<sup>4</sup> That Mr. Smith was the author is made certain by a manuscript note in his own hand on the title-page of a copy which once belonged to him but is now owned by the Charleston Library Society: “By William Smith—1792.”<sup>5</sup> ]

1 *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, VIII. 28; XV. 249.

2 *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*, 39.

3 *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, 51–52.

4 *American Bibliography*, VIII. 356.

5 Miss Mabel L. Webber of the South Carolina Historical Society informs me that the Charleston Library Society owns sixteen bound volumes of pamphlets which formerly belonged to Mr. Smith, having his book-plate and in each volume a manuscript table of contents in his hand (according to Mr. Salley), together with a few manuscript notes also in his hand.

2

The / Speeches / of / Mr. Smith, of South-Carolina, / delivered in the / House of  
Representatives of the United States, / in January, 1794, on the subject of certain /  
Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr. 78 Madison, in the Committee of the Whole, /  
on the Report of the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia: / M DCC XCIV.

Title, I leaf; Resolutions proposed January 3, 1794, pp. [iii]–vi; Speeches, &c., pp. [7]–75;  
Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France  
and Great Britain prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.1

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<sup>1</sup> See *Annals of Congress*, January 13, 1794, 174–209. Madison's reply on January 14 (*Annals of Congress*, 209–225) was published at New York in 1794 in a pamphlet entitled “*Speech in the House of Representatives*,” etc.

On December 31, 1793, Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State and returned to Monticello, whence he wrote Madison on February 15, 1794: “We have been told that Mr. Smith's speech and your's also on your propositions have got into Davis's papers, but none of them have reached us.” And again on April 13, he wrote to Madison: “I have been particularly gratified by the receipt of the papers containing your's and Smith's discussion of your regulating propositions I am at no loss to ascribe Smith's speech to its true father. Every tittle of it is Hamilton's except the introduction. There is scarcely anything there wrote I have not heard from him in our various private tho' official discussions. The very turn of the arguments is the same, and others will see as well as myself that the style is Hamilton's. The sophistry is too fine, too ingenious, even to have been comprehended by Smith, much less devised by him.” *Writings* (Ford), VI. 499, 501. Hamilton's draft of the “Outline of Smith's Speech on Madison's Resolutions of January 3, 1794,” including the table, is printed in Hamilton's *Works* (Hamilton), v. 80–95; and in Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), III. 423–441.

This was the most popular of Mr. Smith's pamphlets, and as late as October 7, 1796, the *South Carolina State Gazette* (Columbia) advertised “For sale, at the Printing-Office, Smith's (of South Carolina) speeches, delivered in the house of representatives of the United States, in January, 1794.”

3

Friendship with Great Britain / the / True Interest of America./ The / Speech / of / Mr  
Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United  
States, / In January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed  
by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole on the Report of / the Secretary of State. /

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Philadelphia Printed. / Edinburgh: Reprinted for Bell and Bradfute, / J. Simpson and W. Laing. 1794.

Title, I leaf; Resolutions proposed January 3, 1794, pp. [1]–3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4–78; Comparative Footing of the Commerce of the United States with the Dominions of France and Great Britain, prior to the pending Revolution of France, folded table at end.

4

The / Speeches / of / Mr Smith, / of / South Carolina, / delivered in the / House of Representatives / of the / United States, / in January 1794. / On the subject of certain / Commercial Regulations, / proposed by Mr Madison, / in the Committee of the Whole, on the Report of / the Secretary of State. / Philadelphia Printed: / Edinburgh: 79 Reprinted for J. Simpson, Bookseller, / Front of the Royal Exchange. / 1794.

Title, I leaf; Resolutions proposed January 3, 1794, pp. [1]–3; Mr. Smith's Speech, pp. 4–78.1

1 The only copy of this pamphlet I have seen (in the Boston Public Library) lacks pp. 73–78 and the folded table at end.

5

The speeches of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, in January, 1794, on the subject of certain commercial regulations, proposed by Mr. Madison Philadelphia, printed; London, reprinted, J. Stockdale, 1794.

vi, [7]–75 p. fold. tab.

This I have not seen, and the title and collation are taken from the Library of Congress cards at the Massachusetts State House.

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6

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia: Printed in the Year MDCCXCIV.

Title, I leaf; Address, pp. [3]–32. Dated at end (p.32): “Philadelphia, May 1, 1794.”

The Boston Athenæum copy formerly belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph in ink on the title-page and in his hand the words: “in defence of his opposition to Maddison's resolutions.”

7

An / Address / from / William Smith, / of / South-Carolina, / to his / Constituents. / Philadelphia, Printed: / London, Reprinted for J. Debrett, opposite / Burlington-House, Piccadilly. / 1794.

Title, I leaf; Address, pp. [3]–28; Books printed for J. Debrett, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly, 4 pp.

8

The / Speech / of / Mr. Smith, / of / South Carolina, / In the House of Representatives of the United / States, on the subject of the Reduction / of the Public Debt. / December, 1794.

Title, I leaf; Text, pp. [3]–20.

This speech was delivered December 23, 1794: see *Annals of Congress*, pp. 1010–1019.

9

A / Candid Examination / of the / Objections / to the / Treaty / of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, / between the / United States and Great-Britain, / as stated in the / Report of

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the Committee / appointed by the Citizens of the United States, in / Charleston, South-Carolina. /

80

By a Citizen of South-Carolina. / Audi alteram partem. / By a Collision of Sentiments Truth is discovered. / Addressed to the Citizens of South-Carolina. / Charleston: Printed. / New-York: / Re-printed for James Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. / 1795.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; A Candid Examination, &c., pp. [3]–43; Half-title, 1 leaf; Postscript, pp. [1]–5.

First half-title reads:

The / Eyes Opened, / or the / Carolinians Convinced, / by an / Honourable and eloquent Representative / in the / Congress of the United States, / in the following / well received and candid Examination / of the / Objections / to His Excellency / Governor Jay's late Treaty with / Great Britain; / and which has been ratified by / President Washington, / at the City of Philadelphia. / New-York: / Printed for, and sold by J. Rivington, No. 156 Pearl-street. / 1795.

Second half-title reads: "Postscript."

The Boston Athenæum has three copies, one having "Cabot" written in ink on the first half-title. The Boston Public Library has two copies, one having "Daniel Sargent junr" written in ink on the first half-title and against lines 5–8 in the same hand the words "William Smith." That Mr. Smith was the author seems a reasonable conclusion from the evidence. I have not found a copy of the original Charleston edition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On June 24, 1795, the Senate voted to recommend to Washington the rat<sup>1</sup> The only copy of this pamphlet I have seen (in the Boston Public Library) lacks pp. 73–78 and the folded table at end.ification of Jay's Treaty, and it was ratified by Washington August 14.

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The New York edition of the pamphlet was issued after August 18, since the Postscript (evidently added by Rivington) contains extracts from New York papers of that date. On April 30, 1796, the House of Representatives “took up the resolution for carrying into effect the Treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain,” and the question was “determined in the affirmative—yeas 51, nays 48.” *Annals of Congress*, 1282–1291. It has been stated that “only four from the South voted for the bill.” C. W. Sommerville, *Robert Goodloe Harper*, 1899, 10. South Carolina was then represented in the House by Lemuel Benton, Samuel Earle, Wade Hampton, Robert Goodloe Harper, William Smith, and Richard Wynn, of whom all voted nay on the resolution except Mr. Smith and Harper. It would seem, therefore, as if the pamphlet must have been written either by Mr. Smith or by Harper. Though elected as a Democrat, Harper yet approved of Jay's Treaty, and late in 1795 published at Philadelphia a defence of his position entitled: “*An Address from Robert Goodloe Harper, of South Carolina, to his Constituents*,” etc. This is dated at the end “Philadelphia, Dec. 17, 1795,” and editions were printed in 1796 at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. So far as I have been able to ascertain, Harper had published nothing on Jay's Treaty earlier than this, and thus by a process of elimination we reach Mr. Smith as the probable author of the *Candid Examination*, etc. (Cf. p. 88, note 4, *infra*.) It should be added, however, that Mr. Smith's collection of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, contains no copy of this tract.

10

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston,  
South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American  
Independence. / By Appointment of 81 the / American Revolution Society, / and published  
at the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society / of /  
Cincinnati. / By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative  
in the Congress of the / United States. / Printed by W. P. Young, No 43, Broad-Street, /  
Charleston.

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Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp. [1]–40; Errata, p. 40.

The half-title reads: “Smith's Oration.” With straight rules above and below.

11

An / Oration, / delivered in / St. Philip's Church, / before the Inhabitants of / Charleston,  
South-Carolina, / on the Fourth of July, 1796, / in commemoration of / American  
Independence. / By appointment of the / American Revolution Society, / and published at  
the request of that Society, / and also of the / South-Carolina State Society of Cincinnati. /  
By William Smith, / a member of the Revolution Society, / and Representative in the  
Congress of the / United States. / Second Edition. / Printed by W. P. Young, No.- 43,  
Broad-Street, / Charleston.

Half-title, 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Oration, pp.–40.

The half-title reads: “Smith's Oration. Second Edition.” In ornamental oval.<sup>1</sup>

12

A / Comparative View / of the / Constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and  
with that / of the United States: / exhibiting in / Tables / The prominent Features of each  
Constitution, / and classing together their most important provisions under the / several  
heads of administration; / with / Notes and Observations. / By William Smith, of South  
Carolina, L.L.D. / and Member of the Congress of the United States. / Dedicated to the  
People of the United States. / Philadelphia, /

<sup>1</sup> An advertisement, headed “American Revolution Society,” in the *City Gazette* (Charleston) of June 25, 1796, stated that “The Members of this Society will, on the 4th day of July next, meet at Williams's Coffee-House, at 11 o'clock, a.m, when they will be joined by the Society of the Cincinnati, in procession to St. Philip's Church, and attend

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service. Anthems will be performed suited to the occasion; after which an Oration will be delivered by the honorable William Smith, esq. appointed for that purpose by the Revolution Society.” An advertisement of the Cincinnati, printed in the *Columbian Herald* (Charleston) of June 13, mentioned the oration, but did not give the name of the orator. The *City Gazette* of July 2 announced the arrival of “Passengers in the *South Carolina*, captain Garman, from Philadelphia: William Smith, esq.” In a letter to Rufus King dated July 23, Mr. Smith said: “I did not leave Philad. till ten days after the edit. and having a very tedious passage did not arrive here [Chareleston] till the 1st inst., not in time to prepare, and scarcely in time to deliver my Oration, a copy of which I send you, with a curious advertisement of the vender, who says that the works which have lately had the greatest run in town, are Paine's Age of Reason and Smith's Oration. You will smile at seeing any work of mine associated with Paine' and the heroic actions of the French.” *King's Life and Correspondence*, IV. 427.

82

Printed by John Thompson, and sold by all the Booksellers / in the United States. / 1796.

Title, 1 leaf; Dedication to “Fellow Citizens,” 1 leaf; Copyright, 1 leaf; Preliminary Discourse, pp. [1]–4; Tables I–VI, not paged and without signatures; Notes on the Legislative, pp. 9–26; Notes on the Executive, pp. 27–31; Notes on the Judiciary, pp. 32–34.<sup>1</sup> The dedication is dated “Philadelphia, October 2, 1796.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The copyright notice states that “on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the twenty-first year of the Independence of the United States [1797], John Thompson of the said District, hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, ”

<sup>2</sup> In some copies the tables are differently folded. An advertisement dated “Aug. 22,” printed in *Procupine's Gazette* of August 23, 1797, and succeeding issues, reads in part as follows: “Just published, And for sale by Thomas Dobson, A Comparative View Of the Constitutions of the several states with each other, and with that of the United States: By

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William Smith, LL.D. Of South Carolina, and Member of Congress of the United States. Price of the fine paper, hot-pressed, one dollar 25-100ths—and of the common paper one dollar.”

The copy owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society has written in ink on the title-page the words: “For the Historical Society—Boston From Henry Wm De Saussure.” Cf. I Proceedings, 1. 146. One of the two copies owned by the Harvard College Library has written in ink on the inside of the front cover the words: “The Gift of the Author to J. Pickering, 1797, at Lisbon—(and bound at Lisbon).” This was John Pickering (1777–1846), son of Col. Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> John Pickering accompanied Mr. Smith to Portugal as his secretary: see p. 27, *supra*. In a letter dated Lisbon, September 1, 1798, Pickering wrote: “I am told that at Princeton they study (for information on one branch of politics) a book written by Mr. Smith, the gentleman with whom I live. The author has made me a present of one. It is a most excellent work; and if you have already any interest in the subject of it, you can get one from Philadelphia. It is entitled ‘Comparative View of the Constitutions,’ etc. It is a small volume, but deserves the motto of *multum in parvo* as much as any book I know” *Life of John Pickering*, 130.

Mr. Smith also gave copies of the work to Hamilton and to King. “I have received, my dear sir,” wrote Hamilton April 5, 1797, “your letter of the 2d of April, (1797) with your little work accompanying it, which I shall read with the interest I take in the author, the first leisure hour. I have cast my eye over it, and like very much the plan.” And again on April 10: “Since my last to you I have perused with great satisfaction your little work on our governments. I like the execution no less than the plan. If my health and leisure should permit, I would make some notes; but you can not depend on it, as I am not only extremely occupied, but in feeble health.” Hamilton's *Works* (Lodge), VIII. 459, 461–462. In a letter to King dated April 3, 1797, Mr. Smith wrote: “Our friend [William Vans] Murray sails for Amsterdam shortly; he will do credit to the appointment. I shall entrust to his care a copy of a little work on the Constitution for you, which I have had interleaved to receive those

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judicious remarks which will I am sure occur to you on perusing it. When this is done, I shall request you to return it to me, in exchange for a copy of a new edition on a more enlarged & useful plan." *King's Life and Correspondence*, IV. 167. The contemplated enlarged edition was never published by Mr. Smith, his early transference to Europe probably interfering with the revision.

83

13

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general; / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / United States, October 1796.

Title, I leaf; Text, pp. [3]–64. Colophon on p. 64: "End of First Part."

A copy in the Harvard College Library has written in pencil on the title-page in an unknown hand the words: "By Wm Smith, of So Carolina—Member of Congress—& Minister to Portugal." The copy owned by the New York Historical Society has written on the title-page, in the hand of John Pintard, then Recording Secretary, the words: "N. Y. Historical Society presented by Oliver Wolcott 30th Sept 1813;" and above the date of the imprint the words: "by Oliver Wolcott and William Smith of S. C."

14

The / Pretensions of / Thomas Jefferson / to the / Presidency / Examined; / and the / Charges against / John Adams / Refuted. / Addressed to the Citizens of America in general, / and particularly to the / Electors / of the / President. / Part the Second. / United States, November 1796.

Title, I leaf; The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson, &c., pp. [3]–39; Appendix, pp. 39–42.

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The text fills 31 lines on p. 39, after which comes the word “Finis.”

Then follows “Appendix. / Vindication of Mr. Adams's / Defence of the / American Constitutions,” pp. 39–42, signed “Union” and dated “Eastern Shore, Maryland, / 26th Oct. 1796.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This *Short Vindication of Mr. Adams's 'Defence of American Constitutions,'* signed “Union,” was printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 5, 1796, p. 2, where it is preceded by this note: “The following judicious and candid analysis of ‘A Defence of the American Constitutions, by John Adams,’ is earnestly recommended to the consideration of the Electors, generally.” Miss Webber informs me that in his copy of this pamphlet, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, Mr. Smith has written under the Appendix this note: “by William Vans Murray, now Min. Res. in Holld.” This is quite improbable as no other reference to such an authorship has been found.

The volume in which the Boston Athenæum copy is bound belonged to William S. Shaw, having his autograph on the first fly-leaf and on the second fly-leaf a list of the contents in the same hand, which says: “5 Phocion—by Wm Smith of South Carolina.”

These articles by “Phocion” were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), beginning October 14 and ending November 24, 1796. The First Part was advertised as “This Day Is 84 Published” in the same paper of November 5th, p. 3/3. They were written (so the first one states) in reply to “a writer under the signature of Hampden, in the Richmond paper of” October 1st. Their authorship is in doubt. The only passage which throws any light on the matter is found on pp. 30–31 of the First Part, where the author quotes Hampden as saying: “I believe,” he adds, “no member of congress will contradict this fact.” Whereupon the author remarks: “Without being a member of congress, I will undertake to contradict this fact, and to prove that Hampden's assertion is as false, as his reasoning thereon is absurd.” If the author was not a Member of Congress, then he could not have been Mr. Smith; but this is one of those statements

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which writers frequently make when they wish to conceal their identity. Besides, if Oliver Wolcott (who was then Secretary of State) was part author of the articles, then the above passage was presumably written by him. Even while the articles were appearing in the *Gazette of the United States*, Mr. Smith was pointed at as their author.<sup>1</sup> In 1801, under the heading “Jefferson's

1 “ *Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, October 25.* ‘Except the late news from Europe we have nothing new here. Our campaign for the chusing electors of a President has commenced and each party is straining every nerve to get in their favorites. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams are to be opposed to each other. It is generally thought that electors favorable to the former will be chosen in this state, notwithstanding the many attempts which have been made to injure his publick character in the daily papers. Amongst these attacks on his character, there are none which have been read with more disgust than some pieces under the signature of *Phocion*, and which you will find in the *Gazette of the United States*, sent you here with. Even the enemies of Mr. Jefferson speak of them as discreditable to their author and injurious to the cause they were meant to assist. It is said that they are the production of a member from your state. I can hardly believe it, as, from his general character, I thought he could not descend to scatter such abuse, for it can be called by no other name, on a character who at least has always shewn himself a decided friend of his country, and at an early day in our revolution was noted for his manly opposition to the unjust claims of Great-Britain’.” *City Gazette*, Charleston, November 9, 1796.

A letter signed “Z,” written “For the City Gazette,” reads in part as follows:

“A Member of Congress from South Carolina, who has on all occasions been lavish of his abuse of Mr. Jefferson, apprehending that if he shall be elected President he will have little chance of participating of the loaves and fishes, has attacked him with much asperity under the signature of *Phocion*.” *City Gazette*, November 17, 1796.

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A communication "From a Correspondent" reads as follows: "If there were any doubts concerning who is the author, or rather the compiler of the abusive and malignant pieces which have lately appeared in the *Columbian Herald*, under the signature of Phocion, they would vanish, or at least be very much lessened, on reading in a late *Gazette of the United States*, printed in Philadelphia, where the pieces in question were first published, that 'it is perfectly certain, that the letters of *Phocion* contain *entire* passages of the essays of *Catullus* (published in 1792) without the usual inverted commas, or any other mark of quotation.' Who does not know the person that committed a similar plagiarism upon the *Federalist*, in defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795?" *City Gazette*, December 17, 1796. For these extracts I am indebted to Miss Webber.

The allusion in the third passage to a pamphlet by "Catullus" published in 1792 eludes me. The allusion to "the *Federalist*" is probably to the celebrated essays written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in 1787–1788, but may be to one of the numerous articles which were written on Jay's Treaty in 1795. Thus a series of letters under the title "Federalist" and signed "A Federalist," appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 22, 25, 29, August 1, 8, 12, and 26, 1795, and was reprinted the same year by Mathew Carey in his *American Remembrancer*, II 61–72, 95–103, 228–265. The final allusion to "defending the treaty here in the summer of 1795" must be a reference to *A Candid Examination*, etc., which is No. 9 in my list of Mr. Smith's writings.

85 Character," William Cobbett quoted from the pamphlet in question various extracts, which he thus introduced:

"This man's character has been well illustrated by Mr. William Smith, now (in 1801) American Ambassador in Portugal. A writer under the signature of Hampden, . . . after asserting the exclusive right of Virginia to fill the office of President, called the attention of that state to the illustrious Thomas Jefferson, as the fittest character in the Union to fill the President's chair, and proceeded to enumerate the various pretensions of that

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gentleman.—In answer to Hampden, Mr. Smith published a pamphlet, from which the following extracts are made.”

After quoting the extracts, Cobbett concluded:

“Such was the character and conduct of the man, who is now President of the United States. Let it be remembered, that it is not I, it is not any Royalist that says this; but a Republican, an American, a gentleman who was long a member of Congress, and who is now an Ambassador.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Porcupine's Works*, London, May, 1801, XIII. 192–217.

In a work published in 1802 Cobbett again quoted the same passages, which he said were “Extracted from the Letters of Phocion, written by William Smith, Esq. of South Carolina, long a member of Congress, and lately American Minister to the Court of Portugal.”<sup>2</sup> In 1859 the pamphlet was attributed to Mr. Smith and Oliver Wolcott,<sup>3</sup> and in 1885 to the same persons.<sup>4</sup> “This tract,” wrote H. B. Tompkins in 1887, “has been attributed to Noah Webster. It was written, however, by William L. Smith of South Carolina (Phocian).”<sup>5</sup> In 1914 R. H. Johnston attributed the pamphlet to Mr. Smith.<sup>6</sup> With the remark

<sup>2</sup> *Cobbett's Annual Register*, London, 1802, I. 961–972.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue of Printed Books in the New York Historical Society*, 1859, 552, 645.

<sup>4</sup> Sabin, XV. 457. It is also attributed to Smith and Wolcott in the Library of Congress cards.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*, p. 153. Mr. Tompkins does not say who attributed the pamphlet to Noah Webster, but adds: “Callender, in the *American Annual Register*, or *Historical Memoirs of the United States for the year 1796*, at pages 205 *et seq.*, defends Jefferson against Phocian's attacks.” Callender (pp. 205–212) says nothing about the authorship, but in the next paragraph (p. 212) returns to Noah Webster, whom he had

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mentioned on an earlier page—thus, perhaps, giving the erroneous impression that he attributed the pamphlet to Webster.

6 *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 26, in *Jefferson's Writings* (Jefferson Memorial Association edition, 1903), xx.

86 that neither of the two copies of the pamphlet which once belonged to Mr. Smith and are now in the Charleston Library Society contains any note as to the identity of the writer, the authorship must be left undetermined.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pretensions, etc., was replied to as follows:

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / “The Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency, / “examined, and the Charges against / “John Adams refuted.” / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / “Phocion.” / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street./ November 1796.

Title, I leaf; Remark, I leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [5]–48.

Contains Nos. I–VIII, each signed “A Federalist.” Colophon on p. 48 reads: “End of the First Part.”

The / Federalist: / containing / some Strictures / upon a pamphlet, entitled, / “The Pretension of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency,/ “examined, and the Charges against / “John Adams refuted.” / Which pamphlet was first published in the Gazette / of the United States, in a series of Essays, / under the signature of / “Phocion.” / Part the Second. / Philadelphia: / Re-published from the Gazette of the United States, / and the New World, / by Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market-Street. / November 1796.

Title, I leaf; The Federalist, &c., pp. [3]–27.

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Contains Nos. IX–XII.

These articles by “A Federalist” were originally printed in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 9, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30, when they suddenly ceased. My guess is that the remainder of the series, judging from the title-page of the Second Part, appeared in the *New World*, a Philadelphia publication which I have not seen—not in “the *New York World*,” as R. H. Johnston has it (A Contribution to the Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson, p. 26). Hints as to their author are given in the *Gazette of the United States* of November 17, 1796.

15

Phocion's Examination of the Pretensions of Thomas Jefferson and his Refutation of the Charges against John Adams.

This I have not seen, the title being taken from an advertisement in *Porcupine's Gazette* (Philadelphia) of July 25, 1797, and succeeding issues. The title is preceded by the words “Published Complete, And for sale by William Cobbett, opposite Christ Church,” and is followed by a longish statement which reads in part as follows: “The above most interesting work contains a satisfactory refutation of the absurd charges of the Jacobins against the President of the United States, with a correct analysis and vindication of his defence of the American constitutions These papers were originally published with a reference to the late important election of president, but the valuable information they contain must recommend them at all times to the attentive perusal of American citizens ” Presumably the work is merely a reprint of Nos. 13 and 14.

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16

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The Numbers / of / Phocion, / which were originally published / in the / Charleston Courier, / in 1806, / on the Subject of / Neutral Rights. / Revised and Corrected. / Charleston, S. C. / Printed at the Courier Office, / No. 1, Broad-Street.

Title, I leaf; Introduction, pp. [3]–4; Phocion, pp. [5]–64; Appendix, pp. [65]–70.

The Boston Athenæum has two copies, one having “Ben: Merrill” written in ink on the title-page and on p. [3] in the same hand the words “Hon: William Smith of South Carolina is the reputed Author of these Letters.”<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith's own volume of pamphlets, now owned by the Charleston Library Society, has this note in his hand: “Phocion, on Neutral Rights, Amer. Ed.”

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Merrill was born at Conway, N. H., in 1784, graduated at Harvard College in 1804, practised law at Salem, Mass., and died in 1847: see I *Proceedings*, II, 390–392.

These articles were first printed in the *Charleston Courier*, beginning February 18 and ending May 31, 1806. In the issue of May 31st, p. 3/4, was advertised “Proposals for publishing by subscription The Numbers of Phocion.” On September 26, at a meeting of the Anthology Society, “Mr [W. S.] Shaw read Mr Merrill's review of ‘Phocion’ which was accepted;”<sup>2</sup> and the review duly appeared in the *Monthly Anthology* for September, ending as follows:

<sup>2</sup> *The Anthology Society* (1910), 89: cf. pp. 301, 321.

“The reputed author of this pamphlet is William Smith of South Carolina, an eloquent and honourable gentleman, who adorns his country, and who is one of those of whom Bolingbroke says, that ‘if they retire from the world, their splendour accompanies them, and enlightens even the obscurity of their retreat.’”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Monthly Anthology*, III. 494–495.

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17

American Arguments / for / British Rights; / being / a Republication / of / The Celebrated Letters of Phocion, / on the subject of / Neutral Trade. / Printed at Charlestown, South Carolina; / Reprinted for J. Butterworth, Fleet Street, London, / by G. Auld, Greville-Street. / 1806.

Title, I leaf; Preface, by the English Editor, pp. [iii]–xii; Text, pp. [1]–68; Appendix, pp. [69]–74.

The preface reads in part as follows:

“The ensuing Letters were first published in a newspaper of South Carolina, but attracted so much notice, that they were soon afterward republished in a pamphlet,

‘As the able and intelligent writer used the signature of Phocion, it has not been thought proper to put his name in the title-page; but he has not affected to disavow or conceal his being the Author of these Papers; and it may therefore, without scruple, be mentioned, that America and 88 Europe are indebted to the Honourable William L. Smith, a native of South Carolina, late one of the Representatives of that State in the General Congress, and Ambassador from the United States to the Court of Portugal’” (p. iii).

16 / 17 /

Sabin attributed Nos. 15 and 16 to Hamilton, an error not easily accounted for since Hamilton was killed July 12, 1804.<sup>1</sup> Henry Stevens in 1885,<sup>2</sup> and P. L. Ford in 1886,<sup>3</sup> correctly assigned them to Mr. Smith.

1 *Monthly Anthology*, 1. 132, VIII. 225.

2 Stevens's *Historical Nuggets*, No. 3262, III. 78–80.

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### 3 *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana*.

18

Select / American Speeches, / Forensic and Parliamentary, / with / Prefatory Remarks: / being / a Sequel to Dr. Chapman's 'Select Speeches.' / By S. C. Carpenter, Esq. / Vol. I. / Philadelphia: / Printed for and published by J. W. Campbell. / William Fry, Printer. / 1815.

The “Speech of William L. Smith, on Mr. Madison's Resolutions”—that is, Mr. Smith's speech delivered January 13, 1794—is printed on pp. 351–417, with prefatory remarks on pp. 346–350.

19

A / comparative view / of the / constitutions / of the / several States with each other, and with that / of the / United States; / presenting the most prominent features of each constitution. / By William L. Smith, L.L.D. / formerly a member of Congress from South Carolina. / Revised and extended / by E. S. Davis, / of South Carolina. / City of Washington: / Published by Thompson and Homans. / 1832. 0., pp. 135.

This I have not seen, the title and collation being taken from Mr. Salley's article.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In 1795 Thomas Greenleaf published at New York *Examination of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and Great Britain. In Several Numbers: By Cato*. In his *Bibliotheca Hamiltoniana* (p. 47), P. L. Ford says that “The authorship of this pamphlet has been ascribed to Hamilton, and to William Smith,” but states that it was by Robert R. Livingston.

Dictionary